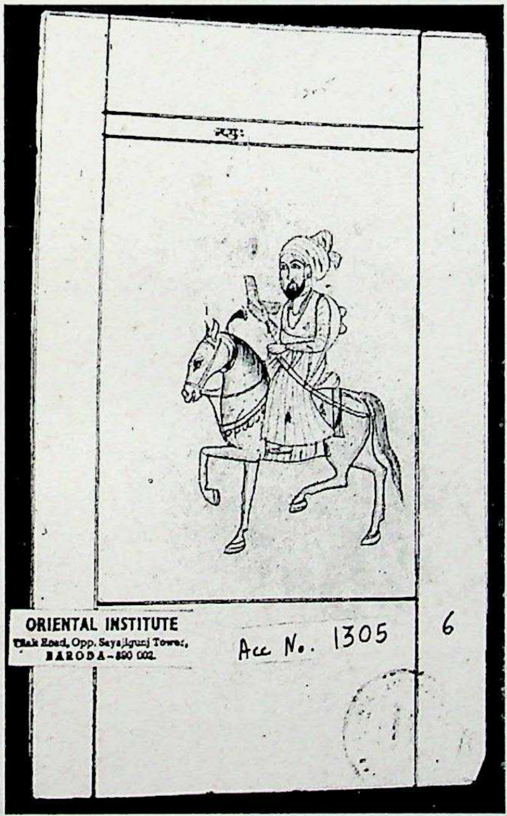
ISSN 0030 - 5324

Journal of the Oriental Institute

THE M.S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, VADODARA.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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
VADODARA

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Vol. LVI] September 2006 - June 2007 [No.1-4

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Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

Vol. LVI, Nos. 1-4
September 2006, June 2007

SOME ASPECTS OF *VĀSTUŚĀSTRA*, REFLECTED IN THE VEDAS

M. L. WADEKAR*

I Introductory-

The Vedas -the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda* and the *Atharvaveda* are the four Vedas, which not only incorporate the prayers in praise of different deities and the sacrificial paraphernalia but also the hymns relating to philosophical, spiritual, ephemeral and mundane aspects. The scholars have found these most ancient treatises to be full of references and allusions to various aspects of Modern sciences. In Modern times, there is much development of the Science of Architecture. Our ancient works on the *Vāstuśāstra* are now a days being newly studied. We have many works like the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, the *Mayamatam*, the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam* etc., which deal with the topic of *Vāstu*. The *Vedas* have some allusions to some concepts of *Vāstu*. Besides the *Mantras*, relating to the Vāstoṣpati, the words *Gṛha*, *Geha*, *Dama*, *Durya*, *Kṣaya*, *Dhāma*, *Sadana*, *Harmya*, *Duryoṇa*, *Duroṇa*, *Śālā*, *Āyatanam*, *Okas* etc. are significantly and frequently found in the Vedas. The various *Yānas* like chariots and ships, as also three-seated, self-contained supersonic aircrafts are also found mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Atharvaveda* has separate hymns on the *Śālā*, which need attention of scholars. It not only refers to *Upamita*, *Parimita*, *Pramita Śālā* and *Pāśa*, *Granthi*, *Vaṁśānām sannahanam*, but also to the *Śālā*, which is having two to ten *pakṣas* . The *Havirdhānam*, *Agniśālā*, *Patnīnām sadaḥ and Devānām sadaḥ* are also mentioned.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 1-10.

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The present paper is intended to refer and study these *Vāstuśāstra* aspects as glimpsed from some *Mantras* of the *Vedas*.

II **The word *Vāstu* -**

The word *Vāstu* can be derived from the root *Vas* + *Uṇādi*,1.77 which means *Vāstu* - *vastum yogyam*, that which is fit for residing.

The *Mayamatam*[1] defines *Vāstu* as a place where the mortal and the immortal live. It is further described to be of four types-1*Bhūmi* i.e. Plot/house, a village and a city, 2 Temple and Palace, 3 Carriage /Chariot, drawn by horse etc., Ship/boat, Aero-plane 4 Couch/Bed etc.

अमर्त्याश्चैव मर्त्याश्च यत्र यत्र वसन्ति हि।
तद्वस्त्विति मतं तज्ज्ञैस्तद्भेदं च वदाम्यहम्।।
भूमि(गृह-ग्राम-नगर)- (देव-राज)प्रासाद-(अश्वरथ-नौ-विमान)यानानि शयनं च चतुर्विधम्।।

The word *Vāstu*[2] occurs in some *Mantras* in the Vedic *Saṁhitās* in the sense of abode /residence/ place. The word *Vāstavya* -fit to be resided in - is also found in some places. The terms Vāstoṣpati, Vāstupa and Vāstuhā also deserve notice. This word is found in the name of the deity Vāstoṣpati which is praised in the *Mantras* of the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā (RS)*. The word *Vāstu*[2] occurs in some *Mantras* in the Vedic *Saṁhitās* in the sense of abode /residence/ place. The word *Vāstavya* -fit to be resided in - is also found at some places in the *Ṛgveda* (7.54,55; 8.17.14) and other *Saṁhitās*. This shows that the term *Vāstu* and the concept of the God Vāstoṣpati presiding over it and protecting and bestowing beneficial objects is as old as the *Ṛgveda*. The Rudra is also praised as Vāstupa -protecting the *Vāstu* and the elements affecting the *Vāstu* may be understood by the phrase Vāstuhā.

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[1] Dagens Bruno, *Mayamatam*, Sanskrit text edited and translated, Indira Gandhi National centre for the Arts, New Delhi and Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi,1994, Vol. I, 2.1-2

[2] *Vāstu-RS*.8.25.5- नपाता शवसो महः सूनू दक्षस्य सुक्रतू । सुप्रदानू इषो वास्तु-अधि क्षितः।।, *TS*.3.1.10, *KS* 8.5, *KK* 7.1, *SS* 7.113.1, *Vāstuṣu- SS* 12.10.3, *PS*. 16.145.11, *Vāstūni RS*.1.154.6 ता वां वास्तून्युश्मसि गमध्यै। यत्र गावो भूरिशृङ्गा अयासः।। *KS* 3.3,26.5, *KK*.2.10,41.3, *SS*.9.2.4,9, *PS*.16.76.8, *vāstoḥ RS*.7.54, 1-3,7.55.1, 8.17.14, *TS*.3.4.10.1, *MS*.1.5.13, *Kau*. 1.275, *JS*.1.29.3, *Mait*.2.2.4, *PS*.1.86.3,7.6.10,20.22.1,2 *Vāstau-TS*.3.4.10.3, *Mait*. 1.5. *PS*.13,7.6.3, *Vāstvyam Mai*.1.6.4, *Vāstavyāya-VS*.16.39 नमो वास्तव्याय च वास्तुपाय च . *KS*.17.6.3, *TS*.4.5.7.2, *Mai*.2.9.7, *KS*.17.15, *KK*.27.5. Vāstoṣpati *TS* 3.4.10.3 *Vāstoṣpatyam TS*.3.4.10.3,4 *Vāstoṣpatyam Mat*.1.5.13, *Vāstupāya VS*.16.39, *Vāstuhāni Mai*. 6.2, *Vāstvam Vāstvamayam-Mai*.2.2.4 (Vishvabandhu, ed. *Vaidikapadānukramakoṣa(VPKK)*, Vishveshvarananda Vishvabandhu Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, Vol.13,1962, pp.2828-2829, 2775-2776).

III The various words for *Gṛha/ Vāstu*-

It is noteworthy that Vedic *Saṁhitā*s right from the *Ṛgveda* have referred to house / home not simply as *Gṛha / Geha* or *Vāstu* but the seers have utilized numerous words denoting the concept of house.

1 *Gṛham* and *Geham*-

The most frequently used word naturally is *Gṛha*, though the word *Geha* is only scarcely been utilized[3]. The word *Gṛha* comes from the root *grah*(*gṛhṇāti- gṛhṇīte*)- 9th *Ubhayapada*. The *Vācaspatyam*[4] explains it as *Gṛhyate dharmācaraṇāya*. The word is also found in other connections as in *gṛhapa*, *gṛhapati*, *gṛhapatnī*, *gārhyapatyam*, *gṛhamedhīyam*, *gṛhamedhin Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā-(VS)17.85*, *gṛhyam*. Sometimes the word *geha* is also joined with some other words as in *geha-medhya. Gehāya*.- *VS* 30.9, *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā(KS)*34.2.1, also *gehyam* RS.3.30.7 /*gehyāya-VS* 16.44 . The fire was kept burning in every house. It seems that the mud/clay, leaves of the tree, grass and wood were mostly made use of and stone was used in some rare cases. The wide spread house with thousands of doors is mentioned in the *RS* 7.88.5.

> बृहन्तं मानं वरुण स्वधाव:
> सहस्रद्वारं जगामा गृहं ते। *RS* 7.88.5

2 *Dama*-

The word *Dama*[5] is also frequently used for house. It can be derived from the root *dam*- *dāmyati* 4 p.p. to control. It is the place, where one can find control over his senses. (*nigraho bāhyavṛttīnām dama ityabhidhīyate -Bhāgavata Purāṇam.* 10.4 *kutsitātkarmaṇo vipra yacca cittanivartanam- sa kīrtito damaḥ*)[6]. Mahīdhara[7] explains *Dāmyanti gṛhasthāḥ yatra-damo gṛham*. It seems to be connected with Greek word meaning to build[8].

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[3] गृहानेमि मनसा मोदमान:। *VS* 3.41;*VPKK* -vol-6,1955,pp.1240-1241 and 1245; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Words(VI)*, London, vol. I pp.229-230-231

[4] Apte, V.S., *The Practical Sanskrit Dictionary*, Motilal Banarasidass, Reprint, Delhi, 1978, p.410

[5] *VI*, 1912, Vol. I,p.1545 *Dama RS* 1.1.8, 1.60.4, 1.61.9,1.71.6,1.73.4,1.75.5, 1.94.14,1.143.4, 1.174.3, 2.1.2,3.6.3, all *Maṇḍalas. VS* 3.23 राजन्तमध्वराणां गोपामृतस्य दीदिविम्। वर्धमान ꣳ स्वे दमे ।।, 33.3, *KS*.32.1.3, *Kau*.2.887, *Jai*.4.13.2 etc. *VPKK*, vol.7,1956, p.1545. Roth explains *Dama* as the place in which a man wields uncontrolled power from *dam* to control.

[6] Apte, V.S., *Ibid*, p.491

[7] Mahīdhara's Commentary on VS. 3.23

[8] *VI* -Vol. I, P. 340

3 *Duryam*-

This word may be derived from *Dur+yā* 2 P. = *Duḥkhena Yāti* - One moves out with great unhappiness. One does not like to go out of the house. The word has relation with *dur* meaning door. So it may mean a dwelling having door or doors. It shows the concept of a closed residence or secure /protected place. It is also used in many *Mantra*s for house or a dwelling place[9].

4 *Duroṇa* and *Duryoṇa*-

These words[10] are found only in a few *Mantra*s of the *RS* in the sense of house (5.29.10नि दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाच:,५.३२.८ नि दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचम्). This also is related with door/ doors as in case of above word- *Duryam*. It is to be surmised that the house was with several rooms, securely shut up.

5 *Kṣyaya*-

This is also many times[11] used in the Vedas in the sense of house. The word can be derived from the root *Kṣi* which is having two senses. When it is used as *Kṣayati* 1P., *Kṣaṇoti* 5P., and *Kṣiṇāti* 9P., the meaning is to destroy /diminish- *Niṣkṛtyam pāpam Kṣaṇoti / Kṣayati* - A house is that which destroys sin. It also has meaning to abide, stay, dwell *Kṣiyati*-6 P.- hence house/dwelling.

6 *Dhāman* -

It is derived from the root *Dhā* 3 U. *dadhāti-dhatte* meaning to put/to place. It seems to convey some kind of sacred /sanctified/holy place. It is frequently utilized in some such sense in the *Saṁhitās*[12]. Even now, it has that sacred sense attached to it in some such words like *Vidyādhāma* etc.

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[9] *Durya RS*.1.51.14,2.38.5,7.1.11,8.74.1, या ते धामानि हविषा यजन्ति —-अवीरहा प्रचरा सोम दुर्यान्।। 1.91.19,10.40.12,4.1.9,4.1.18,4.2.12,7.1.11-*VS*.1.11 दृꣳहन्तां दुर्या:। 4.37 या ते धामानि हविषा यजन्ति —-अवीरहा प्रचरा सोम दुर्यान्।, 5.17 स्वं गोष्ठमा वदतं देवी देवी दुर्ये, *Kau*.1.87,2.914,*Jai*.1.9.7,4.15.7, *KS*.1.3.8,4.10.8, *TS*.1.1.4.2,6.2.9.1,1.2.10.1,1.2.13.1, 1.2.6.3.1,6.2.9.1, *Mai*.1.1.5,4.1.5,1.2.9, 3.8.7, 4.12.4, 11.13, *KK*.4,31.3 *KS*.1.4,47. 3,5.5.5, *SS*.14.2.5, *Pai*.18.7.5 (*VPKK*,vol.7,1956,pp.1645-1646) *VI* vol. I p.370- Belonging to the door or house, door-posts, dwelling *RS*.1.91.19,10.40.12, *TS*.1.6.3.1, *VS*.1.2, *RS*.4.1.9,18,2.12,7.1.2 दक्षाय्यो यो दम आस नित्य:।। *RS* 7.1.11 प्रजावतीषु दुर्यासु दुर्य ।

[10] *VI*, 1912, Vol. I, p.*KS* 369-370, *Duryoṇa* - *RS* 1.174.7, 5.29.10, 5.2.8, *Duroṇa* - 3.1.18,3.25.5,4.13.1,5.76.4,*AS* 7.17.3,*VS*.33.72. *VPKK*,1956,vol. 7, p.1649, p.1652

[11] *VPKK*, 1955, Vol.6,p.1191.*RS*, 1.40.7, 1.132.3,1.133.7, 2.11.14, 3.2.6,4.53.7 etc. *VS*.8.6, 13.53. रेवती रमध्वम्। अस्मिन्योनावस्मिन् गोष्ठेऽस्मिन् क्षये।। *VS* 3.22

7 *Pastyā*-

This is a word now not in much use but in the *RS*[13], it is employed in the sense of a house, dwelling, also family, home with its surroundings, the family settlement. The word *Pastyā-sad* means one sitting in the house or innate, companion (*RS* 6.51.9).

8 *Sadana* -

This word[14] is derived from the root *Sad* 1 P. *Sīdati* - to sit, rest, settle - *Sīdatyasminniti sad- ādhāre lyūt*. People take resort to it for rest or for relief from fatigue/ languor/exhaustion. It is many times used in connection with sacrifice as a place for inviting the deity or in the sense of a sacrificial hall.

9 *Śālā*-

The word[15], though now used in the sense of a school, was only found used in the two *Sūktas* of the *Arthavaveda* and in the *Gṛhyasūtras* in the sense of a house. (*Śālā*- 9.3.1-31, *Śālānirnahanam* - 3.12.1-9) . The two *Sūktas* of the *Atharvaveda* will be dealt with in detail later on. The word *Patnīśālam* occurs in the *VS* (19.18).

10 *Harmya* -

Some references[16] to *Harmya* are found in the *RS* and other *Saṁhitās* in the sense of House, though it may suggest the upper part of the house.

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[12] *VI*, Vol.I, p. 399, *VPKK*,1956,Vol.7,p.1714 *Dhāman* - dwelling and house sometimes innnates.*RS*1.144.1, 2.3.2,3.55.10 प्रिया धामान्यमृता दधानः।, *RS* 7.61.4,87.2,10.13.1 etc. *AS*.4.25.7,7.68.1,12.1.52, *VS*.4.34 विश्वान्यभि धामानि।, *Tai.Ar*.2.7.2

[13] *VI*, Vol.II,1912, p.511,522, *VPKK*,1958,Vol.XI,p.1983- *Pastyā-sad*-Sitting in the house *RS* or innate, companion 6.51.9, *Pastyā RS*. 1.25.10 नि षसाद धृतव्रतो वरुणः पस्त्या३स्वा। साम्राज्याय सुक्रतुः॥,40.7,164.30,4.1.11, 6.49.9,7.97.5,9.65.23,10.46.6 Roth house, dwelling also family.

[14] *Sadana* (*VS*,17.87), *VI*, Vol.II,1912, p.421

[15] *VPKK*,1962,Vol.XIII,p.3005-3096, *VI*, Vol.II, 1912, p.376, *AS* 5.31.5,6.106.3,8.6.10, 9.3.1, 14.1.63, *Tai.B*.1.2.3.1,*SB* 3.1.1.6 , *Śālāpati*-9.3.12

[16] *VI*, Vol.II,1912, p.499, *Harmya* -*RS*.7.55.6 यथेदं हर्म्यं तथा ।, 7.56.16 ये हर्म्येष्ठाः शिशवो न शुभ्रा, 1.121.1,2.71.4,78.3,1.166.4,5.32.5,8.5.23, 10.114.10, 7.76.2,10.46.3,73.10, *TS*. 4.3.13.7 *MS*.4.10.5,*KS*.21.13

11 *Chardi* -

The words *Chardis* and *Chadis* both occur in the Vedic *Saṁhitās*[17]. The word *Chadis* meaning covering of wagon as in Sūrya's car. It also means thatch/roof of the house. Probably, connected with is the word *Chardis*, which, therefore, should mean house with a roof, a secured dwelling place. The stable /firm house is referred to in the *RS* ता यंसतो मघवद्भ्यो ध्रुवं यशश्छर्दिरस्मभ्यं नासत्या।7.74.5.

12 *Āyatanam*-

The word *Āyatanam* is also to be found in the sense of house or residence specifically in the *Chāndogya Upanisad* (7.24.2) - क्षेत्राण्यायतनानीति and in the sense of holy place, in the later epics[18]. The words like *Āyatanam, Āyatanamām, Āyatanavat, Āyatanavān, Āyatanavantaḥ, Āyatanavantam, Āyatanavatīḥ, Āyatanavatīm* etc. frequently occur in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā (TS), Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā (MS), Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (KS), *VS* (only once)[19].

13 ***Okas***- This word is frequently found in the *RS, the Atharvaveda(AS)* and other *Saṁhitās*[20] in the sense of Abode/house. We may compare it with the Greek word - *Oikos*.

Thus the house is referred to in so many different words denoting that sense. Here it should be noted that the word *Pur* is used in the sense of fort, rampart, stronghold in the various context in the *RS*[21]. It was wide or extensive and firm. This may refer to a walled habitation. These were made up of stones, bricks and even *āyas* (Iron or Bronze). Hundreds of such walls are mentioned in one *Mantra*. Indra is said to have broken such hundreds of strongholds. The word *Iṣṭakā* is specifically found mentioned in the *VS*[22]. The *Grāma* in the sense of a village is also found referred to in the *RS* and other *Samhitās*[23]. The *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (3.13.4) refers to *Mahāgrāma*[24]. The *VS* and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[25](8.6.2) mention roads also.

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[17] *VI*, Vol.II,1912, p.265, 267, *VPKK*, 1956, Vol.7, p.1331, 1334, *Chardi* - Secure Dwelling palace, Often in *RS*. 1.48.15 प्र नो यच्छतादवृकं पृथु च्छर्दिः, 1.114.5, 6.15.3, 46,9.12, *VS*. 13.19 इन्द्रस्य छदिरसि विश्वजन्यस्य छाया अग्निष्ट्वाऽभि पातु मह्या स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा, 14.12 वायुष्ट्वाऽभि पातु मह्या स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा, *TS*. 4. 2. 9.2, 3.6.1 Occasionally later *Chadis* - Covering of a wagon, Sūrya's car - covering-*RS*. 10.85.10 मनो अस्या अन आसीद् द्यौरासीदुत च्छदिः। शुक्रावनड्वाहावास्तां यदयात् सूर्या गृहम्।।, roof/thatch of house *VS*. 5.28 अग्निष्ट्वाऽभि पातु मह्या स्वस्त्या छर्दिषा।

[18] *VI*, Vol.I, p.60

[19] *VPKK* ,1955,Vol.6 p.680, ध्रुवासि ध्रुवोऽयं यजमानोऽस्मिन्नायतने प्रजया पशुभिर्भूयात्।। *VS* 5.28

[20] Ibid, P. 1072 , *Okas-RS 1.66.2;104.5; 173.11;2.19.1;3.58.6;4.16.15;5.30.1;6.41.1; VS. 34.57; SS 5.22.5* etc

[21] *VI*,Vol I ,538-539, *Pur*- fort, Rampart, Stronghold *RS*1.53.7 पुरा पुरं समिदं हंस्योजसा, 1.131.4,1.166.8 शतभुजिभिस् .. पूर्भिः,3.15.4 *pṛthvī/urvī* 1.189.2 *Aśmamatī* stones 4.30.20, *amā* bricks 2.35.6, *āyasī* 1.58.8 पूर्भिरायसीभिः, 2.20.8 पुर आयसीर्नि तारीत्, 4.27.1, 7.3.7, 15.4, 95.1, 10.108.8 hundred walls 1.166.8, 7.15.14 अधा मही न आयसह्यनाधृष्टो नृपीतये। पूर्भवा शतभुजिः।

[22] इमा मे अग्न इष्टका धेनवः सन्त्येका च दश च दश च – *VS* 17.2

The *Atharvaveda*[26] has one *mantra* in which the word *pura* is used in the sense of a city. This city is having eight wheels, nine gates etc.

IV The *Mantras* relating to Vāstoṣpati -

In the *RS*, there are *Sūktas* in praise of different deities. We come across at least one *Sūkta* of three *Mantras*, in the Seventh *Maṇḍala*, in which the presiding deity of the *Vāstu*, namely Vāstoṣpati is eulogized. There are also other two *Mantras* (7.55.1 and 8.17.14) in which the God Vāstoṣpati is addressed. In these *Mantras*, the god Vāstoṣpati is implored to bestow upon all-human beings and cattle-wealth, the health/freedom from diseases and well-being. All should be ever green/young and having good/friendly relations and fatherly affections. They may also protect us in the *Yoga* and *Kṣema* and wellbeing all the time. He is the Deity that delivers us from all diseases. The word Vāstoṣpati occurs seven times in the *RS*. This is included under tutelary deities by Macdonell[27]. In the *Mantra* (5.41.8), he is praised along with Tvaṣṭṛ and is identified with him as a great artificer. In the *Mantra* (8.17.14), he is described as a firm pillar, a cuirass of Soma-pressers and seems to be identified with Indra. In the Tenth *Maṇḍala* (10.61.7), he is described as the observer of ordinances, who along with prayers was fashioned by Gods.

वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीह्यस्मान् स्वावेशो अनमीवा भवा नः।
यत्त्वेमहे प्रति तन्नो जुषस्व शं नो भव द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे।।
वास्तोष्पते प्रतरणो न एधि गयस्फानो गोभिरश्वेभिरिन्दो।
अजरासः सख्ये स्याम पितेव पुत्रान् प्रति नो जुषस्व।।
वास्तोष्पते शग्मया संसदा ते सक्षीमहि रण्वया गातुमत्या।
पाहि क्षेम उत योगे वरं नो यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः।।

RS. 7.54.1-3

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[23] *VI*,Vol I,p.244-247, *grāma*-village *RS* 1.44.10 असि ग्रामेष्वविता पुरोहितोऽसि यज्ञेपु मानुषः।, 1.114.1- इमा रुद्राय तवसे ..विश्वं पुष्टं ग्रामे अस्मिन्ननातुरम्, 2.12.7, 10.146.1, 10. 149. 4, *AS*. 4.36.7,8, 5.17.4, 6.40.2, *VS*. 3.45 यद् ग्रामे यदरण्ये, 16.48 इमा रुद्राय तवसे, 2.17 अग्ने प्रियं पाथोऽपीतम्।, Roads- *Chāndogya Upa*. 8. 6.-तद्यथा महापथ आततः, See also *AS* 2.31 for *Aṣṭācakrāpurī*

[24] *Mahagrāma Jai. Upa.B.* 3.13.4 *Dhruvā* Fixed ground/plot/ firm house, *Aśmanmayī* शतमश्मन्मयीनां पुरामिन्द्रो व्यास्यत्। दिवोदासाय दाशुषे।। *RS*.4.30.20

[25] *Chāndogya Upa*. 8.6.2 तद्यथा महापथ आतत...

[26] *AS*.10.2.28,29,30,31,33- पुरं यो ब्रह्मणो वेद २८,३०, अमृतेनावृतां पुरम् २९, अष्टाचक्रा नवद्वारा देवानां पूरयोध्या । तस्यां हिरण्मयः कोशः स्वर्गो ज्योतिषावृतः।।३१, पुरं हिरण्मयीं ब्रह्मा विवेशापराजिताम्।।३२।।

[27] Macdonell A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, Motilal Bnarasidass, Delhi, Reprint, 1981, P. 138

अमीवहा वास्तोष्पते विश्वा रूपाण्याविशन्।
सखा सुषेव एधि नः।। Rv. 7.55.1
वास्तोष्पते ध्रुवा स्थूणाऽसत्रं सोम्यानाम्।
द्रप्सो मेत्ता पुरां शश्वतीनां इन्द्रो मुनीनां सखा।।
RS 8.17.14

V The *Sūktas* in the *Atharvaveda*-

There are two *Sūktas*, relating to *Śālā* in the *AS*, with thirty-one and nine *Mantras* respectively (*Śālā*- 9.3.1-31, *Śālānirnahanam* - 3.12.1-9). These *Sūktas* of the *AS* refer to the Construction of house, but the details are somewhat obscure. The words *Upamita*, *Parimita*, *Pramita* are found, which show at least that the *Śālā* was well-measured. Macdonell explains[28] the terms as follows- *Upamita*-four pillars were set up on a good site and against them beams were leant at an angle as props (*Pratimita*), The upright pillars were connected by cross beams resting upon them. The roof was formed of ribs of bamboo cane (*vaṁśa*), The roof was wagon-headed. A ridge called Viṣuvanta, and a net *Akṣu*, which mean a thatched covering over the bamboo ribs. The walls were filled up with grass in bundles *palada* and the whole structure was held together with ties of various sorts, *nahana*, *pranaha*, *saṁdaṁśa*, *pariṣvañjalya*. (*AS*.9.3.4.5).

The various parts of the *Śālā* are referred to. 1 *Havirdhāna*- the place where the *havirdravya* -the material for sacrificial oblation was stored (like Modern store room), *Agniśālā* - the place of sacrifice (like Modern kitchen or the *Pūjāgṛha*-place of worship), *Patnīnām sadaḥ* - room of the wives (special room for ladies), and *sadas* (sitting room, may be drawing room). Zimmer[29]- conjecturally identifies the *Agniśālā* with the central room, the *havirdhāna* with a place for keeping grains etc. (AS 9.3.4), the *Patnīnām sadana* with the woman's apartment, the *sadas* with the subsidiary buildings. The hanging storage loop or swing made of rope - *śikya*, is mentioned. The word *Iṭa* is explained as Reed-work as part of the finishing of walls of the house. AS.9-3-6. The various rooms are called *pakṣa*. The *Śālā*, having two to ten *Pakṣas* - rooms is mentioned. Macdonell explains[30] *Aṭa* as the door with its framework .

VI Various *Yānas* :

1 *Ratha*-

Hundreds of references to *Ratha* are to be found in the Vedas[31]. Later on also *anas*

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[28] *VI*,Vol I,p.230

[29] *ibid* p.231, note 14

[30] *ibid* p.231

[31] *VI*, Vol. II, P. 201-203

AS.5.14.5. All the different parts of it are frequently referred to 1 two *Cakras* Wheels, 2 *Pavi* rim, 3 *Pardhi* felly, 4 *Ara* spokes, 5 *Nabhya* nave, 6 *Nemi* rim + felly, 7 *Akṣas* Axle, 8 *Bandhura* Seat (even three) as also *garta*, 9 *Iṣa*, *prauga* pole, 10 *yuga* yoke, 11 *Raśanā* ropes, 12 horses /steeds mostly two but - five or even seven. A poor fellow may yoke only one horse. The Cart of *Gardabha* donkey, *Aśvatarī*-mule, Ox- cart *anaḍvāha* are found referred to.

2 Ships/boats-

In the *Mantras* of the *RS* (6.58.3,1.46.8,1.116.5), the *Ratha/ nāva*, which runs not on the ground but on the unfathomable and support-less ocean (*Anārambhaṇe agrabhaṇe samudre*) is also found referred to. There is reference to extensive ship of hundred oars in the oceans or boats in the big rivers. The references to *nāva, plava*[32] are also frequent. The attractive, shining enormously heavy ships are mentioned.

पूषन्नावो अन्तः समुद्रे -ऋग्वेद ६.५८.३
अरित्रं वां दिवस्पृथु तीर्थे सिन्धूनां रथः। ऋग्वेद १.४६.८
अनारम्भणे तदवीरयेथामनास्थाने अग्रभणे समुद्रे।
यदश्विना ऊहथुर्भृज्युमस्तं शतारित्रां नावमातस्थिवासम्।। ऋग्वेद १.११६ .५

3 *Vimāna*-

The word *Vimāna* also occurs at some places in the *RS* and other *Saṁhitās*[33]. The *Ratha* that runs not on the earth or water but in the firmament /sky is mentioned. It is described to be having three wheels, without horses, without reins, glorious and comfortable, falcon-shaped, speeder than the mind of the mortals, fleeting like the wind and fulfilling the needs of the people.

Such a self-contained three storied or three seated, speedy *Vimāna*, running in the sky is described. There is a beautiful young lady also in it (*Juṣṭvī narā yuvatistiṣṭhadatra*).

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[32] Ocean-*RS*.1.116.3, *Plava- VI*, Vol. II p.55, *VPKK*,1956,Vol.,XI,1959,p.2256 *Nāva,RS* 1.97.8,1.116.3

Maritime Navigation-*Baudhāyana Dh.S*.1.2.4,2.2.2. *VPKK* Vol.VII, 1956,p.1867, *VI* Vol. I p. 448 and p.461

[33] *VPKK*,Vol.,XIII,p.2889

(Abbreviations- *RS- Ṛgveda Saṁhitā, KS- Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, VS-Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, TS-Taittirīya Saṁhitā,, AS-Atharvaveda Saṁhitā, PS-Paipalāda Saṁhitā, KK- Kapiṣthalakaṭha Saṁhitā. SS- Śaunaka Saṁhitā, Kau -Kauaṣītaki Saṁhitā, JS- Jaimini Saṁhitā, Mai- Maitrāyaṅi Saṁhitā)*

अनश्वो जातो ...रथस्त्रिचक्रो परिवर्तते रजः। ऋग्वेद ४.३६.१
आ वां रथो अश्विना श्येनपत्वा सुमृळीकः स्ववान् यात्वर्वाङ्।
यो मर्त्यस्य मनसो जवीयान् त्रिबन्धुरो वृषणा वातरंहसा।।
त्रिबन्धुरेण त्रिवृता रथेन त्रिचक्रेण सुवृता यातमर्वाक्। ऋग्वेद १.११८.२
आ वां रथं युवतिस्तिष्ठदत्र जुष्ट्वी नरा दुहिता सूर्यस्य।। ऋग्वेद १.११८.५

VII Concluding Remarks-

1 The word *Vāstu* and the tutelary Vāstoṣpati is found in the Vedic *Saṁhitās*.

2 The various words like *Gṛha, Geha, Dhāma, Durya, Dama, Duroṇa, Duryoṇa, Kṣaya, Pastyā, Harmya, Śālā, Sadana, Āyatana, Okas* are employed in different contexts in the Vedic literature.

3 From the descriptions in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*, it is presumed that houses with different kinds of rooms, having many doors, which were well-measured and made on firm grounds, with roofs for protections from heat, wind and rains, with entrances to all the different directions, made of clay, but stone may be used in some cases for ramparts etc.

4 Though the word *Grāma* is generally found, the *pur* is used for Ramparts, not for city. However the *Atharvaveda* refers to the city and the *Upaniṣad* to roads and *Mahāgrāma*.

5 The different kinds of *Yāna*s i.e. *ratha*, driven by Horses, cart driven by bullocks. Donkey etc. are found mentioned. All the different parts of it are noted. The ships and boats, running on the oceans and rivers are referred to. The *Ratha / vimāna*, running in the sky with great speed like that of the wind or mind, self-contained, with three wheels and three seats or three stories are found referred to in the *Mantra*s.

5 All these descriptions indicate considerable development in the field of *Vāstuśāstra* even in such an early period of the Vedic *Saṁhitās*.

ORIGIN OF MARRIAGE: ANALYSIS OF SANSKRIT MYTHS

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Introduction:

It is very difficult to trace the origin of human marriage. However, with the help of myths and legends, we can peep into the minds of ancient people. The Vedic literature never describes a society without marriage, thus to guess no society with promiscuity. Ṛgvedic accounts condemn marriage with siblings[1]. It implies that the marriage institution was already established even in the time of the *Ṛgveda* (RV). We also come across with many words related to marriage rituals or marriage institution[2]. While describing man and woman's relationship, various kinship relations are taken into consideration, which presuppose well-established marriage institution[3]. Even though the RV indicates presence of marriage institution, still it records a myth, which describes the motive behind the first marriage on the earth. The same myth, is described in detail in the Brahmanical literature of the *RV* and that of the *Sāmaveda* (SV). Another myth occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh). The present paper aims at scrutinizing these myths. The Vedic myth and its variations describe why some of the well-known personalities got married. The Vedic myth is a variation of an Indo-European myth. The epic myth also describes why marriage as an institution came into existence. By analyzing these myths, we may be able to derive the foundation of marriage that was in the mind of the ancient Indians. These myths also shed light on the notion of marriage to which even a common man of India adheres. The present paper compares and contrasts both these myths to lay hold on the purpose of marriage that is depicted within. It also tries to retrieve the position of woman implied in these myths.

The Indo-European Myth:

Many ancient societies, especially, Indo-European communities, regarded the sky and the earth as an ideal, the first and productive pair. It was mainly because the ancient

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 11-20.

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[1] RV 10.8, *Yama-Yamī Saṁvāda*.

[2] Vide RV 10.85, the marriage hymn, वर, वधू, वहतु these terms are related to marriage institution.

[3] Vide words like पिता, माता, श्वश्रु, ननान्द, देवर etc.

man was passionate for personification, which was the result of his unparallel creative thinking and imagination. The expanse of heaven and breadth of the earth, and also probably the ever-changing scenario of the sky and earth made him think them as living beings. He could not think of the world without sky and the earth, therefore, he could imagine them as the first existing pair. Earth was naturally conceived as female because she gives birth to plants and provides shelter to the animate and inanimate world. The sky as if hugging the earth, was considered as husband and the earth lying below was the fruitful mother impregnated by the heaven. Since the whole world was receiving rain and heat from the sky, it was considered as father. In the Vedic culture, the sky is called *Dyaus pitā* (compare Greek *Zeus Pater* = Jupiter and sometimes *Ouronous*) and the earth as the mother (Sanskrit *Pṛthivī* Greek *Gaia*). The pair was source of all things in the world. All the gods were originated from them and therefore, were called their children. The Indo-European(IE) mythology, however, says that in the beginning of the world, the region of the sky had enveloped the earth completely; there was no separate existence of any of them, as if they were hugging each other constantly. A heroic god called Chaos, who was their son, separated them. At the time of separation, they cried. The god pushed the sky upward and the earth downward. The separation was painful and forceful. Then they got married and were beneficial to the world. It is possible that this event is perceived as the first marriage[4].

The Vedic Myth:

Even for the Vedic mind, the marriage of the sky and the earth is the first marriage in the world. Both of them together form a Vedic deity called *'dyāvāpṛthivī'*. The *RV* reserves around seven independent hymns for them. On the same lines of Indo-European myth, these two are called father and mother of the whole universe; gods have come into existence because of them. Their union is described in many contexts, especially in the Rain hymns. The Vedic references, however, do not refer to their forceful separation. A Vedic verse praises god Indra, who has supported the heaven and the earth separately and skillfully. However, Indra is described in the Vedic literature to support both these worlds separately, and not as the person who was involved in the process of separation. Furthermore, he is nowhere described as an agent separating them by force. Since the separation is not described, there is no question of identifying the separation as painful. There are only two Vedic words retained in the Vedic language indicating their painful and forceful separation. *'Rodasī'* and *'krandasī'* are the two words referring to the dual divinity *'dyāvāpṛthivī'*. The words are *'rodasī'* and *'krandasī'*, mean weeping and screaming[5]. The use of the roots meaning 'to weep' and 'to scream' in the context of heaven and earth are not clear unless the words are read in the background of the Indo-European mythology.

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[4] For English Translation of the Greek Myth, see J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* (Part V), Crown Publication, New Delhi. (R 1989) p.25.

Even in the Vedic mythology, these two divinities are viewed as husband and wife and as father and mother. The Vedic mind imagines and describes their marriage in a very poetic way. The myth occurs in the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *RV* and *SV* in the context of describing certain characteristics of some *sāman* chants. The myth occurs in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (ABr), the *Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa* (TmBr) and in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (JBr) with minor variations. Of course the core motif i.e. the sky and the earth as a pair, remains constant in all these texts.

The ABr[6]: 4.27.5: इमौ वै लोकौ सहास्तां तौ व्यैतां नावर्षं न समतपत्ते पञ्चजना न समजानत तौ देवाः समनयँस्तौ संयन्तावेतं देवविवाहं व्यवहेतां रथन्तरेणैवेयमगूञ्जिन्वति बृहतासाविमां नौधसेनैवेयममूञ्जिन्वति श्यैतेनासाविमां धूमेनैवेयममूञ्जिन्वति वृष्ट्यासाविमां देवयजनमेवेयममुष्यामदधात्पशूनसावस्यामैतद्वा इयममुष्यां देवयजनमदधाद्यदेतच्चन्द्रमसि कृष्णमिव ।

(Tr) "These two worlds were once joined. They separated. After their separation there was no rain, no sunshine. The five classes of beings could not go along. Then the gods brought out the settlement of these two. After that there was marriage between these two following the rituals of gods. The earth prospered the Heaven with the *Rathantara Sāman* and the heaven (prospered her) with Bṛhat. She prospered him with Naudhasa and he prospered her with Śyaita. She enriched him with fog; he prospered her with rain. She created the sacrificial seat for him like the black spot on the moon and he created animals for her."

The TmBr[7] (VII.10-3): This is a Br text of the SV; therefore, it cites myths in the context of various melodies. This particular myth has appeared in the context of two types of *Sāmans*, Śyaita and Naudhasa. These two melodies are mutually nourishing. The text says because these are exchanged by the heaven and earth when they got married. Therefore, the order of melodies is not to be changed, since they married each other. These are not to be changed, since these are related with the divine. The myth runs as follows:

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[5] Dange, S. A. (1982) "The Crying Worlds" VIJ (*Jagannath Fel. Vol.*) pp. 9-16, Hoshiarpur.

[6a] Keith, A. B. (tr) *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaka Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda*, Harward Oriental Series 25, (1920).

[6b] Bapat, Dhundiraj Shastri (*(Marathi)* tr) (1941), *Ṛgvedāce Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

[7] Chinnasvamisastri, A. (ed), *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* (with commentary of Sāyaṇācārya), (1934).

VII.10.1 इमौ वै लोकौ सहस्तां तौ व्वियन्तावब्रूतां विवाहं विवहावहै सह नावस्त्विति ॥

(tr) "These two regions were together. They said when they got separated, "Let us marry, and stay together."

VII.10.2 तयोरयममुष्मै श्यैतं प्रायच्छन्नौधसममगावस्मै ॥

The earth gave the heaven Śyaita and the heaven to the earth the Naudhasa.

VII.10.3 तत एनयोर्निधने विपर्य्यक्रामतां देवविवाहो वै श्यैतनौधसे ।

Then their endings got turned (one should not try to correct them), indeed it is marriage for gods.

The JBr[8] 1.145: इमौ वै लोकौ सह सन्तौ व्यैताम् । तयोर् न किञ्चन समपतत् । ते देवमनुष्या अशनायन् । इतः प्रदानाद्धि देवा जीवन्त्यमुतप्रदानात् मनुष्याः । ते बृहद्रथन्तरे अब्रूतां ये नौ इमे प्रिये तन्वौ ताभ्यां विवहावहा इति । श्यैतं ह वा अग्रे रथंतरस्य प्रिया तनूरास । नौधसं बृहतः । ताभ्यां व्यवहेताम् । ऊषान् एवासौ अमुतोऽस्यै शुल्कमकरोत् धूमम् इत इयममुष्यै । वर्षमेवासौ अमुतोऽस्यै शुल्कम् अकरोत् देवयजनम् इत इयममुष्यै ।......... मेनामेनं वाव ते तद् व्यवहेताम् । तस्मादाहुः न मेनामेनं व्यूह्यम् इति ।

(tr) "Once these two worlds were together, afterwards they got separated. Nothing fell down from them. The gods and men became hungry, because the gods live because of the oblations given from the earth and the men because of the gift of heaven. The Bṛhat and Rathantara said, these are our beloved bodies, let us get married with these. O Agni, Śyaita was the dearly body form of Rathantara and Naudhasa that of Bṛhat. With these they got united. From the heaven he gave her cattle as bride price and she gave him fog. He gave her rain as bride price and she gave him the sacrificial seat.

The *MBh*[9] Myth: In the *MBh*, we get an explicit reference to the origin of marriage institution. Pāṇḍu tells the myth to Kuntī when she desires to bear a child from him. Pāṇḍu says that the present custom of marrying a person and staying together was not in vogue in the ancient days.

अनावृताः किल पुरा स्त्रियो आसन् वरानने ।
कामाचारविहारिण्यः स्वतन्त्राश्चारुलोचने ॥

(O beautiful lady, in ancient days women were not covered, i.e. there were no rules, no bindings for women. They used to wander according to their own will and they were independent.)

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[8] Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra (Cri. ed), *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda*, Motilal Banarasidass, (1955), (2nd revised edition 1986).

[9] The *Mahābhārata* (Text as constituted in its Critical Edition) Vol. I, *Ādiparva*, BORI, Poona, Adh. 113, Śl.4-20a, pp.500-502.

तासां व्युच्चरमाणानां कौमारात्सुभगे पतीन् ।
नाधर्मोऽभूद्वरारोहे स हि धर्मः पुराभवत् ॥

(O fortunate lady of decent family, it was not considered as sin when they were approaching many husbands (persons) right from their youth. Rather it was considered as moral act.)

तं चैव धर्मं पौराणं तिर्यग्योनिगताः प्रजाः ।
अद्याप्यनुविधीयन्ते कामद्वेषविवर्जिताः ॥

(Even today animals are following the same morals those were prevalent in ancient days, that too without desire and jealousy.)

पुराणदृष्टो धर्मोऽयं पूज्यते च महर्षिभिः ।
उत्तरेषु च रम्भोरु कुरुष्वद्यापि वर्तते ॥

(The custom, which was described in the Purāṇas and agreed upon by great sages, is vogue even today in the Northern Kuru country.)

स्त्रीणामनुग्रहकरः स हि धर्मस्सनातनः ।

(The old custom was beneficial to women.)

अस्मिंस्तु लोके न चिरान्मर्यादेयं शुचिस्मिते ।
स्थापिता येन यस्माच्च तन्मे विस्तरतः शृणु ॥

(O pleasantly smiling lady, listen to the details of the story, who had established this regulation (of marriage institution) in this world and why did he establish this regulation.)

बभूवोद्दालको नाम महर्षिरिति नः श्रुतम् ।
श्वेतकेतुरिति ख्यातः पुत्रस्तस्याऽभवन्मुनिः ॥

(We hear of the sage named Uddālaka. His son named Śvetaketu was a great thinker.)

मर्यादेऽयं कृता तेन मानुषेष्विति नः श्रुतम् ।
कोपात्कमलपत्राक्षि यदर्थं तन्निबोध मे ॥

(O lady of beautiful eyes, we even know that because of anger he had established this regulating custom of marriage. Why he had established it, listen in detail.)

श्वेतकेतोः किल पुरा समक्षं मातरं पितुः ।
जग्राह ब्राह्मणः पाणौ गच्छाव इति चाब्रवीत् ॥

(Once upon a time, a Brahmin came and in front of Śvetaketu's father held hands of his mother and said, "Come, let us go.")

ऋषिपुत्रः ततः कोपं चकारामर्षितस्तदा ।
मातरं तां तु पिता दृष्ट्वा नीयमानां बलादिव ॥

(When the son of the sage saw that his mother is being carried away forcibly in this manner, the furious one got very angry.)

क्रुद्धं तु तं पिता दृष्ट्वा श्वेतकेतुमुवाच ह ।
मा तात कोपं कार्षीस्त्वमेष धर्मस्सनातनः ॥

(His father, however, seeing his son furious, said, "O boy, do not be angry. This is the prevalent custom.)

अनावृता हि सर्वेषां वर्णानामङ्गना भुवि ।
यथा गावः स्थितास्तात स्वे स्वे वर्णे तथा प्रजाः ॥

(Women of all the *varṇas* are uncovered, i.e. not regulated like the cows.)

ऋषिपुत्रोऽथ तं धर्मं श्वेतकेतुर्न चक्षमे ।
चकार चैव मर्यादामिमां स्त्रीपुंसयोर्भुवि ॥

(However, Śvetaketu, the son of the sage, could not tolerate that custom and established the regulating custom of marriage.)

मानवेषु महाभागे न त्वेवान्येषु जन्तुषु ।
तदाप्रभृति मर्यादा स्थितेऽयमिति नः श्रुतम् ॥

(O great lady, since then such a regulation was established among men and not in other beings.)

व्युच्चरन्त्यः पतिं नार्या अद्यप्रभृति पातकम् ।
भ्रूणहत्याकृतं पापं भविष्यत्यसुखावहम् ॥

(Since today, a woman, who goes to other person other than her husband would involve in dangerous sin of killing foetus.)

भार्यां तथा व्युच्चरतः कौमारीं ब्रह्मचारिणीम् ।
पतिव्रतामेतदेव भविता पातकं भुवि ॥

(And the sin would also be for the husband who deceives his wife and goes with a virgin girl or another woman devoted to her husband.)

पत्या नियुक्ता या चैव पत्न्यपत्त्यर्थमेव च ।
न करिष्यति तस्याश्च भविष्यत्येतदेव हि ॥
इति तेन पुरा भीरु मर्यादा स्थापिता भुवि ।
उद्दालकस्य पुत्रेण धर्म्या वै श्वेतकेतुना ॥

(The wife who is appointed by her husband to go to the other man for progeny, also would involve in the same sin, if she disobeys order of her husband. These are the rules set by him.)

Analysis:

The Vedic myth says that the heaven and the earth were together. This exactly matches with the Indo-European myth. However, their relationship with each other is not clear, neither is clear whether they were in the completely embraced position to each other or not. These features are clearly marked in the myth of the other Indo-European cultures. Indian myth does not explicitly express it. However, if we read it similar to the IE conception, then it implies that complete merging of the partners is not beneficial. There must be some personal space for each. Keeping each other's individuality, a woman and a man can live happily.

The myth expresses the concept of marriage in Indian mind. It is not mere togetherness that brings them together; but sharing, exchanging of what one possesses is marriage. It is not too much closeness, but being different one comes together, he exchanges and shares. The marriage is divine. Therefore, it cannot be turned out. Both these must have different identity then they can come close. These underlying concepts are valid even today. Secondly, in the IE myth, some third agent against their will separates them whereas in the Indian myth they are separated because of some internal quarrel. As is explained earlier, just two words *'rodasī'* (the crying two) and *'krandasī'* (the screaming two) are preserved in Indian tradition indicating their painful separation.

A complete disorder arose in the whole world because of their separation. This is indicative of importance of man and woman relationship. Even in the Greek myth it is expressed similarly. A happy relationship of a man and a woman is the foundation of the society. However, forceful separation, internal quarrel leads to chaos in the house as well as in the society. The chaos enters when the cosmos is lost. In the ancient conception, the whole cosmic order gets disturbed even if any individual commits mistake. It gets disturbed when routine things are broken. To be together was the natural thing for the heaven and the earth, it got disturbed. Therefore, the cosmic order expressed by the timely rain and sunshine was disturbed. Being together of man and a woman is natural and conducive to the cosmic order. It got disturbed because of their separation. The principle, because of which the whole universe runs smoothly, was called *'ṛta'* in the Vedic times and was termed as *'dharma'*, in the medieval period. Thus, being together of a man and woman is *'dharma'* a moral thing whereas, to be away is *'adharma'* which was not cherished by the society. This belief prevails even today.

After reconciliation made by the gods, they thought of getting married. When they were just staying together there was a chance to invite chaos. Now, they thought that they should never be separated. One may interpret this event in two ways. When they were separated they realized that they could not stay without each other. When a man and a woman think that they cannot live without each other, they are the perfect couple. They must have a keen desire to be together. Then they got married. The marriage was *'deva-vivāha'*. I differ from Haug[10] in interpreting the word *deva-vivāha*. Haug translates it as "The Rites observed by the gods". However, if we take into consideration the variation of the same myth in the MBh, the interpretation has to be different. MBh says that the order of the words of the *Sāmans* referred to is not to be changed, because, they are exchanged in the marriage of gods. Sāyaṇa[11] has rightly pointed out the connotation of the term. He ..says,

"असौ देवविवाहो देवेभ्यः कृतो विवाहः खलु । अतो नातिक्रमणीय इत्यर्थः ॥" VII.10.3

The marriage is not to be crossed over or to be broken because it is *devavivāha*. According to me, this shows some relation with the concept of *saṁskāra* (sacrament). In Indian mind, marriage is a *saṁskāra* and not a contract. One may break a contract, but never a marriage. The ancient word *devavivāha* expresses the same meaning. It is relation fixed by the gods and not to be crossed.

Secondly, it explains the meaning of the word *'vivāha'*. In later literature, it is shown as related to the concept of carrying the bride away. However, in the Vedic myth, exchanging is called *'vivāha'*. The root *'vah'* prefixed by *'vi'* means to carry something in the opposite direction, i.e. exchanging. Marriage is an exchange. It is symbolized in the marriage rituals variously. The bride and bridegroom exchange places, they exchange garlands. Exchange symbolizes sharing which both of them have to do in the whole life. Thus, the Vedic myth focuses on the sharing. It is not mere togetherness, but sharing, exchanging your possessions that too for the benefit of the society is marriage. That is the basis of marriage. The JBr calls the exchange as the bride price. However, in the most ancient Br texts bride-price is not mentioned.

The next feature of marriage is very much important. It describes the sharing and complementary role of husband and wife to each other. The sharing is mutual. Both of them are exchanging various things to each other, which are ultimately beneficial to the world. The same is content of the Greek myth. To quote the translation given by Muir, "The pure heaven loves to inflict on the earth an amorous blow; and desire sieges the earth to obtain the nuptial union. Rain falling from the moist heaven impregnates the earth who brings forth for mortals the food of sheep and sustenance of Demeter. The verdure of the woods also is perfected by the showers proceeding from this marriage." Thus, the Vedic myth as well as the Greek myth focuses on the underlying meaning of marriage.

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[10] Haug, M., (tr.) *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (Vol. II), Bombay, 1928, p.308.

[11] Cinnasvami Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

The story of the MBh tells us that in ancient days, women were free, and not under control. A woman could go according to her own will with any male. The sexual relationship was not governed.

According to this myth, there was promiscuity in the world, no regulation of the sexual relations, no marriages. Thus, the story implies that the institution of marriage has come into existence to regulate the sexual relationship. The story tells that extra marital relationships are not tolerated. Not only women, but even men also get involved in sin because of the extra-marital relationship. The story also refers to the ancient custom of *niyoga*. If a couple does not get progeny, the woman is compelled to have sex with some other person. The persons were generally from the family. Such a custom was called *niyoga*.

Elsewhere, it is said that the society was following *'araṇidharma.'*[12] *Araṇi* means a wooden block from which the sacrificial fire is kindled. Woman was just like surrogate mother. She used to stay together with a person till she bears son for him. Thus, she was just the bearer of the seed. As the *araṇi* i.e. the wooden block 'holds fire within' a similarly she bears son. Anybody can enkindle the *araṇi* whenever the sacrificial fire is needed, similarly any man could call her for sexual relationship when a son is needed. Once a son is born, either she used to look after the son or the person.

MBh says Śvetaketu could not bear it when a Brahmin took away his mother in front of his father. His father could not say anything since it was the custom of the society. Therefore, Śvetaketu established the institution called marriage and made women under the control of a particular person.

This myth concentrates on the regulating aspect of the marriage institution. Marriage institution regulates sexual relationship of men and women. It also states that because of marriage institution, women became under control of men. In fact, the myth does not describe that women were free. Rather they were viewed as simply bearer of the seed, like a surrogate mother. She is neither creator nor possessor of the son. It was not her will that governed the relationship, but, in fact any man who would like to have son from her, had control over her body. Such a pitiable situation of women had come to an end because of marriage institution.

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[12] Pandit Mahadeva Shastri Joshi, (ed) भारतीय संस्कृति कोश, भारतीय संस्कृति कोश मंडळ, पुणे. See under विवाह, Vol. 8, p. 715.

The Vedic myth stresses the sharing and independent identity and mutual co-operation of both the partners. The epic myth, however, shows that the position of women is changed. Even when the society was following *araṇidharma*, woman was viewed as a bearer of the seed and was used by the society as and when required. Thus, the identity of a woman was changed.

THE CONCEPT OF *AMṚTA* IN THE UPANIṢADS

SHUCHITA MEHTA[*]

The concept of *Amṛta* is as ancient as Indian Spirituality. The term *Amṛta* is so variedly used that it is popular among even laymen. In the *Ṛgveda,* which is an oldest record of mankind, we find the quest of human mind to attain *Amṛta,* where the term is applied in the sense of immortality.[1] It would not be out of place to mention that the term *Amṛta* indicates even the meaning of 'liberation'; which is the ultimate aim of human life. It is also noteworthy, it indicates the other side of the coin-which is death; from which every being wants to be free. It is conspicuous that in our daily life we experience duality like, life and death, happiness and sorrow, gain and loss, victory and defeat and so on. An aspirant always is desirous to be free from the bondage of mortality. This way the concept of *Amṛta* has secured a very noteworthy place in the field of spirituality. It can be stated that *Amṛta* is the prime quest of human mind. And so we find the human mind's quest planted in the *Ṛgveda* and it is germinated in the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads emphasize the concept of *Amṛta* very systematically. Curious mind always tries to evaluate the concept with various queries, which we can practise for the concept of *Amṛta,* as follows :

1) What is meant by the term *Amṛta* ?
2) In which context the term is applied ?
3) How can one attain *Amṛta* ?
4) How is an experience of it ?

We can get the answers to such queries from the Upaniṣads.

Before we peep into the Upaniṣads, let us understand the term *Amṛta.* In *Vācaspatyam, Śabdakalpadruma, Śabdaratnamahodadhi* respectively, the term *Amṛta* is defined variously. In *Vācaspatyam,* the term *Amṛta* is defined as *na mṛtaḥ*[2]. It means which

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 21-28.

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[1] त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पुष्टिवर्धनम् ।
उर्वारुकमिव बन्धनान्मृत्योर्मुक्षीय मामृतात् ॥ ऋ - ९, ५९, १२.
ऋग्वेदसंहिता, नाग पब्लिशर्स, चतुर्थ संस्करणम्, दिल्ली, २००४.

[2] वाचस्पत्यम्, चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरीज, वाराणसी, १९६९.

is not dead or mortal. Another meaning is *Mokṣa* i.e. liberation[3]. *Śabdakalpadruma* defines the term as मृ + भावे क्तः - नास्ति मृतं - मरणं यस्मात् तत् तत्पायिनां मरणाभावात् तस्य तथात्वम्[4]. In *Śabdaratnamahodadhi*, the term is defined as *Parabrahman* also[5].

In the Upaniṣads we find the term *Amṛta* applied in the sense of liberation, as the Ultimate Reality and as an immortality.

A very unique prayer stated in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* reveals an earliest desire of the mind of an aspirant to uplift the Self to experience *Amṛta*, i.e. immortality or liberation.

> "From unreal lead me to the real,
> From darkness lead me to light,
> From death lead me to immortality".[6]

Whereas the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* refers to *Brahman* as *Amṛta* and states that the self is not to be sought through the senses. The self caused pierced the opening outward, therefore, one looks outward and not within oneself. Some wiseman, however seeking *Amṛta* with his eyes turned inward, saw the self[7]. Furtheron, it states, the wise, however, recognizing *Amṛta* do not seek the stable among things which are unstable here.[8] *Amṛta* itself is *Brahman*, that is what is stated by the same Upaniṣad; "With the root above the branches below (stands) this ancient fig tree. That is the pure, that is *Brahman*. This need is called *Amṛta* i.e. immortal. It is all the world's rest, and no one ever goes beyond it''.[9]

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[3] वाचस्पत्यम् *Ibid.*

[4] शब्दकल्पद्रुमः, चौखम्बा प्रकाशन, प्रथमः भागः, वाराणसी, १९६१, p.८६.

[5] शब्दरत्नमहोदधिः, भागः-१, मुक्तविजयजी, हेमचंद्राचार्य जैन ग्रंथमाला, अहमदाबाद.

[6] असतो मा सद्गमय
तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय
मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमय -
बृहदारण्यक- उपनिषत्, प्रथमाध्याये, तृतीयं ब्राह्मणम् ।
ईशादिविंशोत्तरशतोपनिषदः, निर्णयसागरमुद्रणालयम्, पञ्चमं संस्करणम्, मुंबई, १९४८.
*Translation cited from - S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, First edition, George Allen & Unwinltd, London, 1953.

[7] पराञ्चि खानि व्यतृणत्स्वयंभूस्तस्मात्पराङ् पश्यति नान्तरात्मन् ।
कश्चिद्धीरः प्रत्यगात्मानमैक्षदावृत्तचक्षुरमृतत्वमिच्छन् ॥१॥
कठोपनिषत्, द्वितीयेऽध्याये प्रथमा वल्ली ।

[8] अथ धीरा अमृतत्वं विदित्वा ध्रुवमध्रुवेष्विह न प्रार्थयन्ते ॥२॥
कठोपनिषत्, द्वितीयेऽध्याये प्रथमा वल्ली ।

The *Bṛhdāraṇyaka's* third *Brāhmaṇa* of the second chapter considers *Amṛta* as the form of *Brahman.* It states, ''verily, there are two forms of *Brahman.* The formed and the formless. The mortal and the immortal (*Amṛta*)''.[10] Explaining it, in same details, it further states, ''Now the formless is the breath and the space which is within the self. This is *Amṛta.* This is moving. This is the true. The essence of this unformed, immortal, moving, true is this person, who is in the right eye, for he is the essence of truth''.[11] Considering *Brahman* as *Amṛta* it states, ''This air is honey, to all beings and all beings are honey for this air. This shining, immortal person who is in the air and with reference to one self, this shining, immortal person who is breath (in the body), he is just this self. This is immortal, this is *Brahman,* this is all.[12]

The *Muṇḍakopaniṣad,* considering *Brahman* as *Amṛta* states, ''*Brahman* is this *Amṛta* i.e. immortal. In front is *Brahman,* Behind is *Brahman,* to the right and to the left. It spreads forth below and above. *Brahman* indeed is this Universe''.[13] Furtheron, it states, ''He, who knows the Supreme *Brahman,* becomes *Brahman* itself. In his family, no one who does not know *Brahman,* will be born. He crosses over sorrow. He crosses over sins. Liberated from the knots of the secret place, he becomes immortal. i.e. *Amṛta*''.[14]

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[9] ऊर्ध्वमूलोऽवाक्शाख एषोऽश्वत्थः सनातनः ॥
तदेव शुक्रं तद्ब्रह्म तदेवामृतमुच्यते ॥
तस्मिँल्लोकाः श्रिताः सर्वे तदु नात्येति कश्चन एतद्वै तत् ॥१॥
कठोपनिषत्, द्वितीयेऽध्याये, तृतीया वल्ली ।

[10] द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे मूर्तं चैवामूर्तं च मर्त्यं चामृतं च.......॥२॥
बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, द्वितीयाध्याये, तृतीयं ब्राह्मणम् ।

[11] अथामूर्तं प्राणश्च यश्चायमन्तरात्मन्नाकाश एतदमृतमेतद्यदेतत्सं
तस्यैतस्यामूर्तस्यैतस्यामृतस्यैतस्य यत एतस्य त्यस्यैष
रसो योऽयं दक्षिणेऽक्षन्पुरुषस्त्यस्य ह्येष रसः ॥५॥

[12] अयमादित्यः सर्वेषां भूतानां मध्वस्यादित्यस्य सर्वाणि
भूतानि मधु यश्चायमस्मिन्नादित्ये तेजोमयोऽमृतमयः पुरुषो
यश्चायमध्यात्मं चाक्षुषस्तेजोमयोऽमृतमयः पुरुषोऽयमेव स
योऽयमात्मेदममृतमिदं ब्रह्मेदꣳ सर्वम् ॥५॥
बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, द्वितीयाध्याये, पञ्चमं ब्राह्मणम् ।

[13] ब्रह्मैवेदममृतं पुरस्ताद् ब्रह्म पश्चाद् ब्रह्म दक्षिणतश्चोत्तरेण ॥
अधश्चोर्ध्वं य प्रसृतं ब्रह्मैवेदं विश्वमिदं वरिष्ठम् ॥११॥
मुण्डकोपनिषत्, द्वितीय मुण्डके, द्वितीयः खण्डः ।

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* the difference is shown between *'Martya'* and *Amṛta.* It is stated, ''Verily, the infinite is the same as the immortal, the finite is the same as mortal.''[15] In its eighth chapter, equality of *Brahman* and *Amṛta* is presented, that ''That is immortal, the fearless. That is *Brahman.*''[16]

Before we evaluate the next querry regarding the means to attain *Amṛta,* it would not be out of place to quote Maitryī, the representative of the curious aspirant, who earnestly endeavours to attain *Amṛta.* Her question raised to Yājñavalkya is a very moot question, ''If indeed, Sir, this whole earth filled with wealth were mine, would I be immortal through that''?[17] Yājñavalkya said, ''Of immortality, however, there is no hope through wealth''.[18] Maitreyī said, ''What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal'' ?[19] In this context we may state that as the Upaniṣads emphasize the path of knowledge to experience *Brahman,* accordingly, it is the path of Knowledge, leading one to the destination of *Amṛta.* The *Īśopaniṣad* states that, ''He, who knows Knowledge and Ignorance together, crosses death through Ignorance and attains life eternal i.e. *Amṛta* through Knowledge.''[20] According to Śaṅkara, by the performance of rituals, we overcome death and by meditation on deities, we attain immortality.[21] By *Amṛta,* Śaṅkara means *devātātmabhāvam.* As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan states, to reach the higher self we must do battle with the lower.[22] *Avidyā* prepares a background for its own transformation. *Avidyā* must be transcended into *Vidyā.* Thus *Vidyā* i.e. knowledge is a ladder to reach the highest place of *Amṛta.* We may state that one should not forget the multiplicity of the names and forms. From mortality one has to rise to Immortality. In the same manner, this Upaniṣad talks about '*Saṁbhūti*' and '*Asaṁbhūti*'. One has to lead a life in this manifested world with a spirit of non-attachment with the mind centred in the unmanifest. Such a practice certainly transcends oneself into *Amṛta,* that is liberation. The *Kenopaniṣad* also states the means to attain *Amṛta.* ''One who realizes that *Brahman* is not known by mind, speech and senses, can gain Immortality.''[23] ''*Brahman* cannot be gained by mind, speech and senses''.[24] Furtheron, it states that when *Brahman* is known through every state of cognition, one attains *Amṛta.*[25] Śaṅkara states that the self is the witness of all states. Seeking the real in all beings, wise men become immortal on departing from this world.[26] It means that at every cognition one can feel *Brahman* as witnessing self. When one experiences *Brahman* in each and every being, one can be *Amṛta,* one can be liberated. The *Kaṭhopaniṣad* also shows the means to attain *Brahman.* One has to become desireless to attain *Amṛta.* It is stated, ''When all desires that dwell within the human heart are cast away, then a mortal becomes immortal, and here he attains *Brahman.*''[27] ''When all the knots that fetter here the heart are cut asunder, then a mortal becomes immortal.''[28]

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[14] स यो ह वै तत्परमं ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति नास्याब्रह्मवित्कुले भवति ।
तरति शोकं तरति पाप्मानं गुहाग्रन्थिभ्यो विमुक्तोऽमृतो भवति ।।९।।
मुण्डकोपनिषत्, तृतीयमुण्डके, द्वितीयः खण्डः ।

[15] यो वै भूमा तदमृतमथ यदल्पं तन्मर्त्यम्......।।१।।
छान्दोग्योपनिषत्, सप्तमाध्याये, चतुर्विंशः खण्डः ।

[16] ...... तदमृतमभयमेतद् ब्रह्मेति....... ।।४।।
छांदोग्योपनिषत्, अष्टमाध्याये, तृतीयः खण्डः ।

[17] सा होवाच मैत्रेयी यन्नु म इयं भगोः सर्वा पृथिवी वित्तेन
पूर्णा स्यात्कथं तेनामृता स्यामिति नेति........।।१।।
बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, द्वितीयाध्याये, चतुर्थं ब्राह्मणम् ।

[18] .... अमृतत्वस्य तु नाऽऽशास्ति वित्तेनेति ।।२।।
बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, द्वितीयाध्याये, चतुर्थं ब्राह्मणम् ।

[19] सा होवाच मैत्रेयी येनाहं नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यां
यदेव भगवान्वेद तदेव मे ब्रूहीति ।।३।।
बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, द्वितीयाध्याये, चतुर्थं ब्राह्मणम् ।

[20] विद्यां चाविद्यां च यस्तद्वेदोभयं स ह ।
अविद्याया मृत्युं तीर्त्वा विद्ययामृतमश्नुते ।।११।।
ईशावास्योपनिषत्, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर ।

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[21] अविद्यया कर्मणा अग्निहोत्रादिना मृत्युं स्वाभाविकं कर्म ज्ञानं च मृत्युशब्दवाच्यमुभयं तीर्त्वा अतिक्रम्य विद्यया देवताज्ञानेनामृतं देवतात्मभावमश्नुते प्राप्नोति ।
Com. of Śaṅkara ईशावास्योपनिषत्, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर ।

[22] See, Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣad,* p.575.

[23] See, केनोपनिषत्, प्रथमः खण्डः ।

[24] See कठोपनिषत्, द्वितीयेऽध्याये, तृतीया वल्ली, also see तैत्तिरीयोपनिषत्, चतुर्थोऽनुवाकः ।

[25] प्रतिबोधविदितं मतममृतत्वं हि विन्दते ॥ ..... १२ ॥ केनोपनिषत्, द्वितीयः खण्डः ।

[26] भूतेषु भूतेषु विचित्य धीराः प्रेत्यास्माल्लोकादमृता भवन्ति ॥१३॥
कनोपनिषत्, द्वितीयाः खण्डः ।

[27] यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि श्रिताः ॥
अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥१४॥
कठोपनिषत्, द्वितीयेऽध्याये, तृतीया वल्ली ।

[28] यदा सर्वे प्रभिद्यन्ते हृदयस्येह ग्रन्थयः ॥
अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्येतावद्ध्यनुशासनम् ॥१५
कठोपनिषत्, द्वितीयेऽध्याये, तृतीया वल्ली ।

Furtheron, it is stated, "A hundred and one are the arteries of the heart. One of them leads up to the crown of the head. Going upward through that, one becomes immortal; the others serve for going in various other directions."[29] Here it is clearly mentioned that if a man has realized the self at the time of his death, soul would pass upward by an artery called *suṣumṇā*. The soul rises by the Sun's rays to the Sun. Thus one is liberated, other ways of rising the soul are not for liberation. The same Upaniṣad has stated that 'one is freed from the face of death by discerning the self without sound, touch, form, taste, smell, beginning and end'.[30] One can attain *Amṛta* or infinite by raising above all empirical dealings. The *Praśnopaniṣad* considers austerity, chastity, faith and knowledge as the means of attaining *Amṛta*. Showing two routes, one of Southern and the other of Northern. It states " Those who seek the self by austerity, chastity, faith and knowledge, they by the Northern route gain the Sun. That is eternal, the fearless."[31] Thus *Ātmavidyā* etc. are the means to attain *Amṛta*. In the same Upaniṣad, Kauśalya asks Āsvalāyana the moot question regarding the origination and departure, it is answered, where in the context of *Amṛta* (liberation) it is mentioned that one enters into life according to thought. The wise man who knows about the self, he becomes immortal.[32]

The *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* also emphasizes the means to attain *Amṛta*. It also pinpoints on the means like austerity and faith. Those who practise austerity and faith in the forest, the tranquil owners who live the life of a mendicant, depart freed from is, through the door of the Sun to where dwells the immortal, imperishable person.[33] It also points out that the knowledge of the self is the bridge to immortality.[34] Furtheron, it is stated that meditation on 'Aum' as the self also leads one to *Amṛta*.[35] One who knows the Supreme

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[29] शतं चैका च हृदयस्य नाऽयस्तासां मूर्धानमभिनिःसृतैका ।
तयोर्ध्वमायन्नमृतत्वमेति विष्वङ्ङन्या उत्क्रमणे भवन्ति ॥१६॥
कठोपनिषत्, द्वितीयेऽध्याये, तृतीया वल्ली ।

[30] See कठोपनिषत्, प्रथमाध्याये, तृतीया वल्ली, १५ ।

[31] See प्रश्नोपनिषत्, प्रथमः प्रश्नः, १० ।

[32] See प्रश्नोपनिषत्, तृतीयः प्रश्नः, ११, १२ ।

[33] तपः श्रद्धे ये ह्युपवसन्त्यरण्ये शान्ता विद्वांसो भैक्षचर्यां चरन्तः ।
सूर्यद्वारेण ते विरजाः प्रयान्ति यत्रामृतः स पुरुषो ह्यव्ययात्मा ॥११॥
मुण्डकोपनिषत्, प्रथममुण्डके, द्वितीयः खण्डः ।

[34] तमेवैकं जानथ आत्मानमन्या वाचो विमुञ्चथामृतस्यैष सेतुः ॥५॥
मुण्डकोपनिषत्, द्वितीयमुण्डके, द्वितीयः खण्डः ।

[35] See, मुण्डकोपनिषत्, द्वितीयमुण्डके, द्वितीयः खण्डः ।

Brahman becomes *Brahman* himself. He crosses over sorrow and sins. Liberated from the knots of the secret place of the heart, he becomes immortal.[36]

When an aspirant attains *Amṛta* or *Brahman* and becomes liberated, then how one behaves ? A curious mind would like to have its answer. The *Kaṭhopaniṣad* points out in this direction. It states, ''The wise, however, recognizing life eternal, do not seek the stable among things which are unstable here.''[37] The *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* states that the person who has attained *Amṛta*, he crosses over sorrow and sins. The *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* states, ''When all the desires that dwell in the heart are cast away, then does the mortal become immortal, then he attains *Brahman* here. Just as the slough of a snake lies on an anthill, dead, cast off, even so lies this body. But this disembodied, immortal life is *Brahman* only, is light indeed.[38] We may say that when under the influence of *Avidyā*, when we identify ourselves with the body, we are mortal. But when through knowledge we do not identify ourselves with the body, we become immortal. That is *Amṛta*. We are no more having the soul embodied with mortality. *Jīva* is no more *Jīva*. It is identified with *Brahman*. That is *Amṛta*. One is freed from the bondage of mortality. That is *Amṛta*.

Thus, during the life span also one can experience *Amṛta*. It is *Jīvanmukti*.

While summing up, we may state that the concept of *Amṛta* is very subtly emphasized in the Upaniṣads. It is wonderful to know that *Amṛta* is no where else. It is here, in the experience of 'beingness'. In each and every cognition, which one witnesses everything as a mere consciousness, one experiences *Amṛta*. Realization of the self Ultimate Reality, means, Ultimate Bliss of witnessing consciousness without the bondage of life and dealth. That is *Amṛta*.

It would be appropriate to sum up with an inexplicable experience of *Amṛta*, stated in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, ''In the highest golden sheath is *Brahman* without stain, without parts, pure is it, the light of lights. That is what the owners of self know. The Sun shines not there, nor the Moon and stars, those lightnings shine not, where then could this fire be ? Everything shines only after that shining light. His shining illumines all the world. *Brahman* verily, is this immortal. In front is *Brahman,* behind is *Brahman,* to the right and to the left. It spreads forth below and above. *Brahman,* indeed, is this Universe. It is the greatest''.[39]

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[36] मुण्डकोपनिषत्, तृतीयमुण्डके, द्वितीयः खण्डः, ९ ।

[37] अथ धीरा अमृतत्वं विदित्वा ध्रुवमध्रुवेष्विह न प्रार्थयन्ते ॥२॥
कठोपनिषत्, द्वितीयेऽध्याये, प्रथमा वल्ली ।

[38] यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि श्रिताः ॥
अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुत इति ॥ तद्यथाऽहि-
निर्ल्वयनी वल्मीके मृता प्रत्यस्ता शयीतैवमेवेदꣳ शरीरꣳ
शेतेऽथायमशरीरोऽमृतः प्राणो ब्रह्मैव तेज एव सोऽहं
भगवते सहस्रं ददामीति होवाच जनको वैदेहः ॥७॥
बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, चतुर्थाध्याये, चतुर्थं ब्राह्मणम् ।

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39. हिरण्मये परे कोशे विरजं ब्रह्म निष्कलम् ।
तच्छुभ्रं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिस्तद्यदात्मविदो विदुः ॥९॥
न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निः ॥
तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ॥१०॥
ब्रह्मैवेदममृतं पुरस्ताद् ब्रह्म पश्चाद्ब्रह्म दक्षिणतश्चोत्तरेण ॥
अधश्चोर्ध्वं च प्रसृतं ब्रह्मैवेदं विश्वमिदं वरिष्ठम् ॥११॥
मुण्डकोपनिषत्, द्वितीयमुण्डके, द्वितीयः खण्डः ।

ULTIMATE REALITY AND MEANING IN THE INDIAN WAR SCIENCE

URMI SHAH*

The term 'Ultimate Reality' conjures up the concept of *Parama Tattva* in our mind. In the dictionary, 'Ultimate' means most remote or distant in place or position, farthest, incapable of any further analysis or resolution, that which cannot be gone beyond'; and 'Reality' means 'actual existence or being of any thing which is not mere appearance and so is the truth or the fact, -a thing which actually exists'. Thus Ultimate Reality is the farthest point to which any branch of knowledge goes, that which is the truth, that which is away from mere appearance and so, is difficult to grasp at the superficial level.

The reference to the 'Ultimate Reality in the Indian War Science' may appear absurd at the first glance. But a deeper study of the War Science shows that like any other branch of knowledge, it too projects this concept, may be not the way the *Darśanas* propound; yet which permeates in day-to-day life.

To get at this, one must briefly recall Indian history as it reflects the continuous cycles of invasions and self-defense involving war (which can be termed as 'conflict' also). Growth, sustenance and propagation of one's own culture and civilization based on the instincts of self-survival and self-expansion giving rise to ambition are incorporated in this process. The critical and reflective study of history and psychology reveals that conflict has always been taking place on two planes - external and internal. The external plane of conflict is on the battlefield whereas the internal exists within us all.

Referring to the external plane one finds that the documented history of India is no exception to this process. The glorious poetic narrations of wars by the Indian Seers and thinkers in various books not only indicate the rise and fall of several kingdoms in succession, but, also actually describe wars, the strategies as well as the weapons used in them. The *Ṛgveda*, the very first historical document of mankind, records the most crucial war of those times, namely, the war of the Ten Kings/the *Dāśarājña Yuddha*, while the war of the *Mahābhārata*, the war between Porus and Alexander and several battles that have followed to this day have been the outstanding landmarks of the Indian History.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 29-34.

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Dig-vijaya/Conquest of the directions (regions) was always encouraged as the righteous ideal for the king. The theory of *Rāja-maṇḍala* of Indian Polity supports this. To achieve this aim, elaborate sacrifices like the *Aśvamedha, Rājasūya* and others were laid down by the Vedas. Moreover, as per the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, the prime duty of the *Kṣatriya* is to protect the subjects which required them to be experts in the military science. Thus, gradually the military science/art of warfare became more essential not only for self-survival but also for self-expansion which fulfilled man's ambitions. As this process involves and affects the entire society, the ancient Indians attached much significance to it with a holistic approach and developed a special branch of knowledge in the realm of education. They called it *Dhanurveda* (DV). To study and preserve the four Vedas, besides the six *Vedāṅgas* were developed four *Upavedas* or Auxiliary Vedas, each of which was attached to a particular Veda which bestowed upon them divine sanctity. The *Āyurveda*/Medicine was attached to the *Ṛgveda*, the *Dhanurveda* (DV)/Military Science to the *Yajurveda*, the *Gāndharva Veda*/Science of Music to the *Sāmaveda* and the *Arthaśāstra*/Polity to the *Atharvaveda*[1].

Within this structure, the military history involving the External plane of war is concerned with the narrations of wars, the strategies used therein, weapons and their uses, military training and other details which are found in a variety of literature like the Vedas, the Epics, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the Purāṇas and also some other texts that incidentally refer to this subject. On the other hand, although the DV texts of Uśanas, Śāraṅgadhara, Vasiṣṭha and others on this science are available to us, they are of late origin as suggested by their internal evidences. All of them give indications of having derived from a common source which is lost in antiquity. It had always been an inseparable part of the education of a *Kṣatriya*. Numerous and varied references of training, competitions in archery, warfare and others are found in the ancient literature such as epics and others. Thus it seems that DV was an important branch of learning. Approximately seven to eight texts of the different versions of DV and a few others are indirectly associated with this science, such as Vasiṣṭha's DV *Saṁhitā*, Sadāsíva's DV, *Nīti-prakāśikā* (NP) and others, while *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, Yukti-kalpa-taru, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and others refer to it as a part of the discussion and narrations of the other topics. However, one has to understand that these are of late origin. The lexicon *Vācaspatyam* notes that this *Upaveda* of the YV has almost disappeared but its earliest secondary form is available in the *Agni Purāṇa* 247-251[2].

This article deals with the Ultimate Reality and its meaning as treated in Vasiṣṭha's

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[1] ऋग्यजुः साम चाथर्वा वेदा आयुर्धनुः क्रमात् ।
गान्धर्वश्चैव तन्त्राणि उपवेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ *Śukranīti-Sāraḥ* 4.3.25

[2] *Vācaspatyam*, Vol.5, p.3841

DV (VDV) and Vaiśampāyana's (NP).

VDV opens with a sole prose passage forming the introduction of this text. It states that it was imparted by Śiva to Paraśurāma, and the same was revealed by the latter to Vasiṣṭha by whom it is now given to Viśvāmitra. These are respectively the primary and the secondary traditions of the exposition of this text. They clearly indicate the divine origin of the text. This implies that Lord Śiva being the founder of this science, the *śiṣya-Paraśurāma* an incarnation of Viṣṇu and Viśvāmitra being a *Rājarṣi*/Royal sage are significant points in the present context; for, the implication is that the *guru* of this science should be a great person with full control over his senses and the mind (Vasiṣṭha is called *maharṣi-brahmarṣi-pravaraḥ*)[3]. A similar tradition is presented by the NP beginning from Brahmā till Veda- Vyāsa involving Maheśvara, Skanda, Indra and others. It says that the science was very bulky when propounded by Brahmā but was made concise at every stage till it reached its present size of eight chapters on being imparted to Janamejaya[4]. This entire tradition has divinities and sages like Bṛhaspati and Śukra who have been great teachers of the military science and warriors as well. Moreover, the primary tradition here is between Brahmā and Maheśvara while the secondary tradition is that of Vaiśampāyana and Janamejaya. (The latter refers to the origin of the treatise by Brahmā as imparting it to Pṛthu as he was the most ideal king and therefore it was a special favour to him)[5]. However, Vaiśampāyana was an ideal, a great sage[6] like Vasiṣṭha and blesses Janamejaya that he would carry out his duties of the ideal king[7].

It is also stated here that the *guru* has to be a *vipra* indicating that he has undergone all the *saṃskāra*s for an individual; but more important and relevant here is that he is required to test that the *śiṣya* is free of greed, crookedness, ungratefulness and other vices[8].

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[3] DV, introductory paragraph

[4] NP 1.21-27

[5] NP 1.29-36

[6] NP 1.2, 3, 19

[7] NP 1.7c - धर्मे ते रमतां बुद्धिः

[8] DV, verse 3a - धनुर्वेदे गुरुर्विप्रः प्रोक्तः ।
आचार्येण धनुर्देयं ब्राह्मणे सुपरीक्षिते ।
लुब्धे धूर्ते कृतघ्ने च मन्दबुद्धौ न दापयेत् ॥ *Dhanurdānavidhiḥ*
Also
न देयमिति क्रूराय कुबुद्धयेऽशान्ताय
गुरुद्रोहिणेऽभक्तायेति । देयमिति ब्रह्मचारिणे ।
धर्मतः प्रजापालदुष्टदण्डविधारिणे साधु-
संरक्षकाय इत्येवं प्रवचनं प्रवचनमिति ॥ *Saṅgrāmavidhiḥ*. 33

The purpose of imparting and learning this science is clearly stated, namely, - (1) the conquest of the enemies[9], (2) destruction of the evil foes[10], (3) protection of the good from the evil[11] and (4) protection of the subjects by the king[12]. Perfection in self-defense is also absolutely essential for success in war[13]. In other words, this science is bound to involve the society at large due to which all the castes have to learn it, that is, acquisition of the art of wielding weapons[14].

However it is also categorically and assertively mentioned that DV as a complete science is to be taught only to select *Kṣatriya* - those who are virtuous, look after their subjects well, reward the honest and punish the evil - thus justifying the purpose for which Lord Śiva had created the DV[15].

The NP too has this concept before it. The end of the NP highlights it where it says in retrospection that Janamejaya was curious to know *Rāja-dharma* from Vaiśampāyana (although its exposition was given by the latter in the *Mahābhārata*) to make it effective in the age of *Kali* when the degeneration of all aspects of life was so intense. The entire exposition of this treatise is the outcome of this query[16]. Hence it is said that for a virtuous and ideal king victory over the enemies is the primary purpose of the military policy[17] and the protection of the subjects like one's own progeny as well as the efforts to keep them happy is his primary duty[18]. Knowing both these aspects makes king a successful ruler. Moreover, knowledge of DV enables him to be proficient in self-defense[19] and also

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9. DV, Viśvāmitra is called विजिगीषुः in the introductory paragraph

10. DV, दुष्टशत्रुविनाशाय - in the introductory paragraph

11.&12. दुष्टदस्युचोरादिभ्यः साधुसंरक्षणं धर्मतः ।
प्रजापालनं धनुर्वेदस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥ Vasiṣṭha's DV, 5
Also, in the introductory paragraph - गोब्राह्मणसाधुवेदसंरक्षणाय ।

13. DV, ते हिताय in the introductory paragraph

14. ब्राह्मणाय धनुर्देयं खड्गं वै क्षत्रियाय च ।
वैश्याय दापयेत् कुन्तं गदां शूद्राय दापयेत् ॥ DV, *Dhanurdānavidhiḥ*. 8

15. DV, verses 5, 6

16. NP 1. 10-18

17. NP 1.47 - सर्वाः पालय धर्मेण प्रजाः पुत्रानिवौरसान् ॥

18. NP 1.47, 2.61, 3.34, 4.10, 8.1

19. NP 4.14 - यदा मुञ्चेच्छरं विध्ये कृतहस्तस्तदोच्यते ।
एवं बाणाः प्रयोक्तव्या ह्यात्मा रक्ष्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥

fulfill all his desires[20].

(In this context, it is interesting to note that DV is ascribed the status of Veda itself by Vaiśampāyana when he says that its *ṛsi* is Brahmā, metre is *Gāyatrī, devatā* (deity) is *Maheśwara* and *viniyoga* (application) is the conquest over the enemy. By reciting its *mūla-mantra* a thousand times, the king can achieve success and also overcome his enemies[21]).

In the discussion of the training and practice Vasiṣtha highlights two important factors - (a) utmost humility as implied by seeking the *guru's* permission before each training/ practice session and (b) absolute significance of breath -control/*prāṇāyāma*[22], perfection in stance, immobility of the limbs and eyes and unswerving concentration on the target[23].

Along with this is required the sanctification of oneself and the weapons with *Mantras* which is a ritual obligations[24].

Vasiṣtha further says that when the warrior is on the battlefield and before the war is to commence, Lord Śiva is to be propitiated with *mantras* as He is the presiding deity of this science and salutations are to be offered to Durgā Haimavatī - elements ensuring the victory of good over evil. The *mantras* used for this have to be pronounced flawlessly assuring their efficacy, absolute concentration and involvement of the warrior for this purpose[25]. Thereafter the *Yogamudrās*/yogic postures are to be carried out by him[26]. This procedure, as is well-known, calms the sense - organs, controls the mind and makes the body flexible - factors vital for the physical and mental fitness. It is assured that the control of breath/*prāṇāyāma* in specific ways leads the warriors to victory over the enemies[27].

Towards the end Vasiṣtha asserts the virtue of patience[28] and the ethical principles of not injuring weak people like the cripple, the unconscious, the fleeting, the unarmed and others[29] which express emphasis of the ethical and moral values.

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[20] NP 8.92

[21] NP 2.8,9

[22] DV, *Śramakriyā* 21-22

[23] चक्षुषी स्पन्दयेन्नैव दृष्टिं लक्ष्ये नियोजयेत् ।
मुष्टिनाऽच्छादितं लक्ष्यं शरस्याग्रे नियोजयेत् ॥
मनो दृष्टिगतं कृत्वा ततः काण्डं विसर्जयेत् ।
स्खलत्येव कदाचिन्न लक्ष्ये योद्धा जितश्रमः ॥ DV *Lakṣyaskhalanavidhiḥ* 29-30

[24] DV, *Ācāryalakṣaṇam* 15-23

[25] DV, *Saṅgrāmavidhiḥ* 14

[26] आदौ तु क्रियते मुद्रा पश्चाद्युद्धं समाचरेत् ।
सर्पमुद्रा कृता येन तस्य सिद्धिर्न संशयः ॥ DV, *Saṅgrāmavidhiḥ* 13

[27] DV, *Saṅgrāmavidhiḥ* 17, 18, 20, 26-32

[28] तस्माद्धैर्यं विधायैव हन्तव्या परवाहिनी । DV, *Vyūhādibhiryudhhakathanam* 45

The above analysis of both the VDV and the NP shows the emphasis they lay on the duty of the king to make his people happy, to protect them and thus to justify his titles of *Kṣatriya* and King. This ability demands convergence of excellent physical training as well as mental discipline. Both are of equal significance for the king to succeed in his duties, further implies a scientific and philosophical inquiry into the nature of the human mind which can be termed today as 'Right Practice'. It emphasizes the upward movement of the king as a human being from a mere instinctive existence of a warring animal to a spiritually inclined human being who not only knows his own self, but also cares and strives for the people whom he rules over to do so. In short, his conscientious administration and policies bring health, wealth and happiness to his subjects. When their needs for *artha* and *kāma* are gratified, they too would be inclined towards practicing *dharma* leading subsequently towards *mokṣa*. Illustrations of the kings like Pṛthu, Janaka and others who were both spiritual and yet excellent administrators are not wanting in the Indian tradition. This is the holistic approach to war as a science and an art in the Indian tradition. When applied to life it helps one to pacify the war at the internal level too and enables one to face the challenges of life successfully, with a positive attitude of mind.

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[29] DV, *Vyūhādibhiryuddha Kathanam* 41, 42

मूर्छितं नैव विफलं नाशस्त्रं नान्ययोधिनम् ।
पलायमानं शरणं गतश्चैव न हिंसयेत् ॥
भीरुः पलायमानोऽपि नान्वेष्टव्यो वलीयसा ।
कदाचिच्छूरतां याति शरणे कृतनिश्चयः ।
संभृत्य महतीं सेनां चतुरङ्गं महीपतिः ॥

ĀŚUMṚTAKAPARĪKṢĀ : A STUDY FROM MODERN ANGLE

ASAWARI UDAY BAPAT*

In the fourth book of the *Arthaśastra* of *Kauṭilīya,* the seventh chapter is called *Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā.* There are three terms in the word *Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā,* viz. *Āśu, mṛtaka* and *parīkṣā.* Literal meaning of the term *Āśu* is fast, but, here we have to consider it as *akasmāt* which means suddenly, accidentally, unexpectedly. In *mṛtaka* the *taddhita* affix *'ka'* is added to the word *mṛta.* From *mṛta* the meaning is very much clear, but, sometimes this '*ka*' is added in the sense of diminution, censure, pity etc[1]. Here the '*ka*' might have been added with the sense of pity. It reflects human nature, with great sympathy the inquest is done only in the case of something which is unexpected, accidental. So the term *Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā* means the 'inquest on sudden death'.

''Forensic Science'', is the application of a broad spectrum of sciences to answer questions of interest to the legal system. This may be in relation to a crime or to a civil action[2], but, this system of principle was in use from our ancestors, and was known as ''*Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā*''.

When we think about the Indian civilization, the word *dharma* plays a very important role. The term *dharma* is manifold. It means law, usage, custom, ordinance, virtue, duty, righteousness etc. Righteousness includes non-treachery with any one in the form of action, mind or speech, charity, and kindness[3]. According to the D. S. Gau righteous conduct means compassion towards all creatures, patience, lack of envy, purification, tranquility, having an auspicious disposition, generosity and lack of greed[4]. When the society is under the influence of *dharma,* there is peace and pleasure. But when there is no *dharma,* it will be all chaos.

To avoid this utter confusion, a king must always be alert because it was believed that all the *dharmas* merge in *rājadharma* [5]. Almost all the scriptures support the thought that, the

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 35-40.

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[1] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* - V.3.70-87.

[2] From Internet URL//http.en.wickipedia.org/wiki/Template:ForensicScience

[3] *Mahābhārata Śānti* 162.21

[4] *Gautama Dharma Sūtra.* Viii 22-23

[5] *Mahābhārata Śānti* 63.25

foremost duty of the king is the protection of subjects[6]. Nārada in his *smṛti* in *prakaraṇa* 33 states, king's duty is to protect his subjects. Protection consists in punishing internal aggression, such as by thieves, robbers and by persons who invade a man's right and in meeting external aggression[7]. It shows that king is the protector of social and moral principles. This is because when all laws are perishing, the king is the promulgator of laws, by virtue of guarding the right conduct of the world, consisting of the *dharma* and four *āśramas*[8]. According to many scholars like Śukra the highest *dharma* of a king is to protect the subject and to put down the wicked[9]. Atri also supports the same thought[10]. According to *Viṣṇusmṛti,* a king must give respect to righteous and punish unrighteous[11].

These wicked people in the society were considered as *kaṇṭakas* or thorns. In modern term, they are considered as criminals. A criminal is the one who commits or omits in violation of law forbidding or commanding it[12]. Manu and especially Kauṭilya have dealt in depth with *kaṇṭakas.* They both have given an exhaustive list of these *kaṇṭakas.* Prevention is always better than cure; according to it, both, Manu and Kauṭilya have stated that with the help of spies, these criminals are to be found out. But Kauṭilya asks to appoint *pradeṣṭṛs* for the suppression of *kaṇṭakas.* According to Dr. P. V. Kane, these *pradeṣṭṛs* correspond to coroners and police magistrates of modern time[13]. It is the duty of *samāhartā* and *nāgarika* to appoint different spies in countryside and within the city respectively. Even after such arrangements, crime would take place. The limit of crime always extends upto slaughter. In that case, it was quite natural that the investigation of body of the deceased would become obligatory. From the different signs on body, one can guess how the slaughter of a person had taken place. In the *prakaraṇa Āśumṛtakaparīkṣā* "of *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*" different types of slaughters and their investigations are discussed by him, viz. strangulation, hanging, impaled, emerision, toxication, slain by stick etc.

In modern world, the investigations of such types are coming under forensic science. Forensic means 'of court of law'[14]. The third book of K.A. is *dharmāsthīya* that is about the duties of judges. In it, in second chapter, he has discussed about the *vyavahāra*. The term *vyavahāra* has got different meanings-

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[6] *Ibid*-68.1-4, cf. Manu. vii.144

[7] *Rājanītiprakāśa* of Mitramiśra (quoted by Dr. P.V.Kane) H.Dh.vol. 3.3

[8] *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*.3.1.38

[9] *Śukranīti*. 1.27-28

[10] *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Vol. 3 p. 3

[11] *Viṣṇusmṛti* -3.36-37 (Translated by Julius Jolly.)

[12] San. Eng.Dic (edited by P.K. Gode & C. G. Karve). p.523

[13] *History of Dharmaśāstra*-vol.3 p.252; cf. Kau.A. 4.1.1. note by Kangle

[14] Parekh's text book on *Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology* 1990 p.1; W.B.E. vol.4 p. 1140

1. Transaction or dealing[15].
2. A dispute, a law suit[16].
3. Legal captivity to enter into transaction[17].
4. The means of deciding a matter[18]. (This meaning is used rarely).

The word *vyavahāra* is defined by Kātyāyana on two grounds;

1) On etymological ground that means *vi* - various, *ava* -doubts, *hara* - removing. So *vyavahāra* means removing various doubts.

2) It means when the ramifications of right conduct, that are together called *dharma* and that can be established with efforts (of various kinds such as truthful speech etc.) have been violated, the dispute (in a court between various parties) which springs from what is sought to be proved is *vyavahāra*[19].

From all this we can say that both *dharmasthīya* and *Kaṇṭakaśodhana adhikaraṇas* (under which the *prakaraṇa* "*āśumṛtakaparīkṣā*" occurs) come under the same category of what we call now a days jurisprudence.

Modern forensic science has different branches such as forensic psychiatry, forensic toxicology and forensic pathology. Forensic psychiatry means where the psychiatrist examines a person, suspected of a crime to determine if they are legally sane; forensic toxicology identifies drugs and poisons in body tissues and determines their effects. While forensic pathologist performs autopsies on victim to learn the cause of death[20].

Such branches of investigations were not developed during the period of Kauṭilya, yet, it was evident that for such investigations, a physician was compulsory. Now, let's compare the forensic jurisprudence with "*āśumṛtakaparīkṣā*" of Kauṭilya. In forensic jurisprudence, 'inquest' is there. Etymologically in = in; quest = to seek means, legal or judicial inquiry to ascertain matter of fact. So inquest is an enquiry into the cause of death which is apparently not due to natural cause. This inquest differs from country to country. In India, it is of three types -

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[15] *Udyoga Parva* 37.30; Apa. Dh. S. 2.7.16-17

[16] *Manu.* 8.1; cf. Yajn.2.1; *Viṣṇusmṛti.* S. 3.72

[17] *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* 10.48

[18] *Ibid.* 9.19

[19] *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. III, p. 247

[20] *World Book Encyclopedia* Vol.4, p.1140

1. The coroner's inquest
2. The police inquest
3. The magistrate's inquest[21].

In medical science different signs of asphyxia, which is the main cause of death, are mentioned. They are swollen face, cyanosed and marked with petechial hemorrhages, the eyeballs appear dominant due to congestion, pupil dilated. The lips, ears and finger nails are deeply cyanosed and the veins of the neck are prominent. The tongue is swollen and sometimes bitten, the hand may be shut tightly, the genitals are turgescent and semen may have been voided. Sphincters are reamed and there may have been incontinence of urine and fasces [22]. Asphyxia is suspended animation from suffocation. This suffocation takes place in the deaths by strangulation, hanging, immersion.

Before mentioning different signs on the dead body, Kauṭilya has asked to smear the body with oil. This is not just to avoid contact of dead body with air, but, because oil is having qualities such as *vyavāi* and *vikāsi*. *Vyavāi* means entering, penetrating and *vikāsi* means opening, expanding or making visible. Hence the purpose of smearing body with oil is to stop the decay (as we pour oil on pickle with the purpose to prevent its contact with oxygen in air) so that further investigations could be done and to make the things visible which would have been pierced in the body[23]. Even now for embalmment of body, oil mixed with red-lead is used.

While describing causes of deaths, Kauṭilya has given almost all the signs e.g. in the death by strangulation, urine and ordure thrown out, with swollen hands and feet and eyes open. At the time of death, sphincters stop working as a result, eyes remain open. In hanging body, condition is same in addition to contraction of arms and thighs. In immersion anus and eyes get closed, tongue bitten, belly swollen. Due to suffocation, it is the reflex action that we inhale forcibly by which anus gets stretched inside, it is difficult to keep eyes open in water and as the water enters in the body, the belly swells. Death caused by poison is of three types, according to Kauṭilya - by poison, by poisonous insect and by stupefying mixture. The signs by poison are common like mouth covered with foam and the dark colour of hands, teeth, feet, nails etc.

The stupefying mixture is called *madanayoga*. The explanation is given by Kauṭilya in

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[21] Parekh's text book on *Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology*, 1990, p.184

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Dravyaguṇahastāmalaka*, Vaidya Banwarilal Mishra, 2005(revised edition)

14.1.16. The *madanayoga* is the mixture of the roots of barley and *Śāli*-rice, the fruit *madana,* nutmeg leaves and man's urine mixed with the roots of *mūka, udumbara, madana,* and *kodrava* or mixed with a decoction of *hastikarṇa* and *palāśa.* Many of the herbs mentioned in the *madanayoga* are responsible for diarrhoea, they are used in *śodhanakarma* which means finding out the *doṣa* in a body. To find out the *doṣas, pañcakarmacikitsā* is suggested which includes vomiting, diarrhoea etc. For, *pañcakarma,* different medicines which are used include *madana* or *gelafala*[24], *hastikarṇa*, it's steam is red in colour[25] (in our daily life we call it castor plant) and *vidārī.* All these medicines are responsible for vomiting and diarrhoea. The use of urine in medicine causes poison[26]. The 6th and 7th *sūtra* of K. A. speaks about abrasion. In the field of medical jurisprudence, abrasion is of three types, scratch, graze and imprint. Scratch is a linear injury produced by a sharp object such as a pin, thorn or nail, running across the skin. A graze is an injury which is produced when a broad surface of skin slides against rough surface. Abrasions are of different types, but, when abrasion is caused by a fall on the ground, the prominence is on elbows, front of knees and hands. An imprint is the third type of abrasion in which injury is produced by direct impact or pressure of or contact with some object which, crushing the cuticle, stamps a reproduction of its shape and surface marking upon the skin, the examples are thumb marks in throttling, teeth marks in biting, whip mark in beating etc[27]. In *āśumṛtakaparīkṣā,* two types of abrasions are mentioned, beaten by stick where the signs are limbs broken or dislocated and when the shattered and burst, he should be considered as hurled down from a height. According to modern terminology, both deaths caused by abration fall under graze type of abration only.

In forensic medicines, forensic pathology plays an important role. Nothing has been mentioned about autopsy in ancient India. But in *āśumṛtakaparīkṣā,* the thirteenth *sūtra* states that, what is taken from the heart if thrown in fire a crackling sound takes place; he also continues that if such poisonous food is put in fire, it becomes rainbow-coloured. From this, we can say that certain type of autopsy would have been there. In *Dṛṣṭārtha aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* in 8.10 it is clearly mentioned that, a cracking sound takes place when poisonous food is put into the fire. In the same *sūtra,* there is also a mention of rainbow-coloured flames of poisonous food. The next aphorism, mentions that food mixed with oil and salt also makes same sound, hence, such food is to be tested by birds. Following this rule, the same thing is mentioned by Kauṭilya. In *Dṛṣṭārtha aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha,* there is only the mention of poisonous food and not of the substance taken from heart. From both the references, we can say that some sort of autopsy was there in practice while investigating the suspicious death.

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[24] *Dṛṣṭārtha aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* 14.1

[25] *Dravyaguṇavijñāna*, V. M. Gogte, 1974

[26] *Śuśṛtasamhita - cikitsāsthāna*, 13.32

[27] Parekh's text book on *Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology*, 1990

After the discussion of different signs on the body of the deceased, Kauṭilya has discussed about police's inquest. In 14th aphorism, he asked to inquire the servants who had received verbal or physical injury, the enquiry of women stricken with grief or attracted towards another person should be done; he also asked to enquire a kinsman coveting inheritance, livelihood or woman. It shows that he has dealt with the prime causes of incident. According to Kauṭilya, it is necessary to examine the body for suicide or murder when the body is hanged dead. This inquiry should also be done with people in proximity, with the view that whether this murder is done by some of these persons or by some agents or by thieves, for the sake of money or because of enmity etc.

According to Aristotle, 'state came into existence for the sake of life and it continues to exist for the sake of good life.' If this is the purpose of the state, then it is quite natural that Kauṭilya had dealt with criminals in the society, for the good life of the entire state. Hence he has discussed the 'inquest of sudden death' which we can call as the root of modern forensic science. I would like to close the paper with the words of Prof. Maxmuller, "Whatever sphere of human mind you may select for your special study.... everywhere you will have to go to India, whether you like it or not."

DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

RAM NANDAN SINGH[*]

Buddhism declined and almost disappeared from the land of its origin. There are several factors and causes responsible for the decline of Buddhism in India. It is truism that the talking of decline of Buddhism is an anathema for the clergy as well as the laity of Buddhism. However, it is an academic discussion and pursuit which must be carried out in an impartial way.

The term "Decline" smacks of negative dispensation, and has been used in several contexts. It has been stated that different perceptions of decline and its causes elicit different responses from the tradition that espouse them.[1] The archaic Pāli canon *Vinaya Piṭaka*[2] states that the decline of *Brahmacarya* would have paved the way for the decline of *Saddharma* (read Buddhism). In the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*,[3] it is exhorted by Gautama Buddha that the *Saddharma* would continue for one millennium, if women are not ordained into the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. And again it would continue for half a millennium, if women are ordained into the Buddhist Order.

TIME OF DECLINE

It is very difficult to determine the exact time of decline of Buddhism in India. It is a problematic area of discussion. There are different opinions in this regard. It is stated by the scholars that the rise and fall of Buddhism started almost simultaneously.[4] P.C. Bagchi[5] is of the view that the decline of Buddhism in India began from the seventh century CE. R.C. Mitra[6] also opines that the decline of Buddhism may be traced back to the seventh

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 41-48.

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[1] Nattier Jan, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*, Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991: p.11.

[2] *Vinaya Piṭaka*, PTS edition, I: 12, 19.

[3] Kashyap B. J. (ed.), *Cullavagga*, Nalanda: Pali Publication Board, 1956: p.376. Also see *The Anguttara Nikāya*, PTS, IV: p.278.

[4] Mishra U., *Journal of G.N. Jha Research Institute*, IX, prt. 1: pp.111-12.

[5] Bagchi P.C., *"Decline of Buddhism and its Causes"* in *Ashutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee*, vol. III: p.412.

[6] Mitra R.C., *The Decline of Buddhism in India*, Calcutta, 1954: p.2.

century CE. L.M. Joshi[7] has given a detailed description about the decline of Buddhism in India. He suggests that it had started at a considerably earlier date. It was, in fact, a long drawn process, slow but steady, the beginnings of which seem to go back by several centuries. It is, therefore, not advisable to fit any particular point of time for the beginning of decline of Buddhism in India.

It is now evident that there was a period of decline of Buddhism in India, and that period may be traced back from seventh century CE to twelfth century CE.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR DECLINE

It is now an established fact that Buddhism has declined in India. In this context, it may be hypothesized that the decline of Buddhism from the land of its origin took place on a couple of levels, such as (a) the Decline From Above, and (b) the Decline From Below.

The Decline of Buddhism From Above is construed as the decline of Buddhism from the monastic level. And again the Decline of Buddhism from Below is meant by the decline of Buddhism from the lay devotee level.

To substantiate the afore-noted hypothesis, there are two factors, such as (i) the Internal factors, and (ii) the External factors which are responsible for the decline of Buddhism in India.

The Internal factors for the decline of Buddhism in India are enumerated as under:

ETHICAL DEGENERATIONS

Ethical, moral and spiritual degenerations of the Buddhist clergy are clearly felt during the seventh century CE. The literary sources eloquently mention this sort of dispensation in the Buddhist Order. The seventh century travelogue titled '*Si-Yu-Ki*' of Hiuen Tsang[8] states that the Buddhist monks were lazy, worthless, debauched, killing animals, rearing cattle and maintaining wives as well as children. The Kashmiri poet and historian Kalhaṇa[9] mentions in his *magnum opus Rājataraṅgiṇī* that in the monastery built by Yakadevī, a queen of king Meghavāhana, one half accommodation was allotted to regular monks of good conduct and the other half accommodation to those who had wives, sons, property and were thus blame-worthy. Modern scholars also are of the view that the decline of Buddhism was effected due to moral decadence of the Buddhists.[10]

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[7] Joshi L.M., *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*, Delhi, 1967: p.302.

[8] Beal S., (ed.) *Si-Yu-Ki*, Calcutta, 1957: p.62.

[9] Stein M. A., (ed.), *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. III, Varanasi, 1960: p.12.

[10] Morgan K. M., *The Path of the Buddha*, New York, 1956: p.48.

There are several literary accounts, such as the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍī, *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti, *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* of king Mahendravarman I, *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, *Mṛcchakaṭikam* of Śūdraka and so on, vividly mention the ethnical, moral and spiritual degenerations of the Buddhist monks and nuns.

SECTARIAN WRANGLINGS

The sectarian wranglings and disputes were prevalent from the early period of Buddhism. The first great schism of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*[11] into *Sthaviravāda* and *Mahāsāṅghika* sprang into existence after the conclusion of the Second Buddhist Council held at Vālukārāma Vihāra in Vaiśālī, convened under the royal patronage of king Kālāśoka of Śiśunāga dynasty. It happened after about one hundred years of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of Gautama Buddha. The *Kathāvatthu* [12], compiled during the third century BCE, enumerates eighteen sects of Buddhism. The seventh century text *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva, and the ninth century work *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita also inform, and explain the wranglings and disputes of different schools of Buddhism.[13] The sectarian wranglings were present very early in the Buddhist *Saṅgha.* There were fierce schisms prevailing in Buddhism as early as about 390 BCE. [14]

MAHĀYĀNIKA AND TANTRAYĀNIKA DOCTRINES

The proliferation of Mahāyānika and Tantrayānika doctrines gave a decided blow to the teachings of Gautama Buddha. The Mahayanist teachers adopted Sanskrit in place of Pāli and incorporated new doctrines which were just opposite to the discourses and sermons of Gautama Buddha. That is why Charles Eliot[15] has remarked that it was to the corruptions of the Mahāyāna rather than of the Hīnayāna that the decay of Buddhism in India was due.

Tantrayānika doctrines are the later developments of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The doctrines, such as the *Mahāsukha, Yuganaddha,* and so on were responsible for the decline of Buddhism in India. The practice of *Pañcamakāras,*[16] namely *madya* (wine), *māṁsa* (flesh), *matsya* (fish), *mudrā* (handgesture), and *maithuna* (sexual intercourse) was the final blow to the religion of *Śākyamuni* Gautama Buddha.

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[11] Bapat P.V., (ed.) *2500 Years of Buddhism*, rpt., Delhi, 1996: p.44.

[12] *Ibid:* p.47.

[13] Dutt N., (ed.), *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Patna: 1966: p.308.

[14] Hopfe L.M., *Religions of the World,* New York, 1994: p.144.

[15] Ellot C., *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. II, London, 1961: p.6.

[16] Bapat P.V., (ed.), *Op.Cit.* : p.359.

FUSION OF BUDDHISM WITH BRAHMANISM

Buddhism especially Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna drifted towards Brāhmanism. The concept of the Buddha as a full-fledged God and multiplicity of *Bodhisattvas* synthesized Buddhism with Hinduism. The panoply of rites and rituals became akin to Vedic religion. The concept of "*Avatāra*", that is to say, incarnation of the Vedic tradition has not left any distinction between Buddhism and Hinduism. The *Matsyapurāṇa* depicts the Buddha as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu by the following way.[17]

> "*Matsyaḥ kūrmo varāhaśca narasiṁho'tha vāmanaḥ,*
> *Rāmo rāmaśca kṛṣṇaśca Buddhaḥ kalkī iti ca kramāt.*"

NON-INVOLVEMENT OF THE LAITY

It may be stated that Buddhism has inherent indifference towards the lay devotees. From the very beginning, the emphasis was on the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. Almost all the thoughts and actions were veered around the Monastic Order. However, there are references as regards lay devotees in the sermons and discourses of Gautama Buddha. For instance, the *Siṅgālovādasutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* has enumerated dos and don'ts for a lay devotee in details.[18] But, that is not sufficient at all. It is amazing to note that not a single treatise vis-á-vis the laity had been compiled until the twelfth century A.D., when a Sinhalese monk Ānanda wrote on the afore-said topic titled *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*[19] in South India. As a result, the involvement of laities with Buddhism was very less.

LIBERAL DISPENSATION

The liberal nature of Buddhism has also played a decisive role in regard to the decline of Buddhism in India. The lay devotees were not conservatively attached to the Buddhist Order. They had fleeting mind in respect of their religions. Even the Buddhist clergy were not fully absorbed in the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. There were several monks and nuns who retained their previous names even after they had ordained into Buddhism. That is why the liberal dispensation is also responsible for the decline of Buddhism in India.

Some of the scholars opine that Buddhism declined in India due to just old age or sheer exhaustion.[20] Thus, the above-mentioned internal factors played a decisive role in respect of the decline of Buddhism in India.

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[17] *Matsyapurāṇa*, rpt., Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, No. 54, Pune 1969: p.285.

[18] *Dīgha Nikāya*, PTS edition, III: p.8.

[19] Saddhatissa H., (ed.), *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, PTS, London, 1965: p.29.

[20] Conze E., *A Short History of Buddhism*, Oxford, 1960: p.86.

The External factors for the decline of Buddhism in India are mentioned as under:

BRAHMANICAL HOSTILITIES

Buddhism has been experiencing the Brahminical hostilities from its inception. Even Gautama Buddha was meanly, dishonorably and cruelly treated by Brahmins. The *Kāśībhāradvājasutta* is a case in point where Gautama Buddha was dishonorably treated by a Brahmin Kāśībhāradvāja at the outset, but later on he was won over by the Buddha with the help of a discourse.[21] There is a story related to some nuns who got a shelter in the house of a Brahmin to stay for the night at a village in Kosala. When the Brahmin came to his house, he became furious, and simply kicked them out calling them shaven-headed strumpets.[22] Brahmins were against the Buddhists primarily because Gautama Buddha challenged the superiority of the former. That is why they looked the Buddhist clergy with contempt and disdain. One of the great supporters of Brahmanism, namely, Yājñavalkya, states that the very sight of a Buddhist monk even in dreams is inauspicious, and should be avoided.[23] Gautama Buddha has been described as a great seducer in the *Viṣṇupurāna,* and it further mentions that the Buddha is a *Māyāmoha* who appeared in the world to delude the demons, taught the doctrines of *ahimsā* (non-violence) and *nirvāṇa* (emancipation), and made people devoid of Vedic rites and religion, and followers of the *Māyāmoha* were finally destroyed by the gods.[24] The last but not least, one of the great opponents of Buddhism was Kumārila. He was the strongest protagonist of priesthood, Vedic ritualism and Brahmanical theology. According to scholars, he was responsible for the decline of Buddhism in India to a great extent.

REVIVAL OF BRAHMANISM

Brahmanism got a distinct set-back during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era due to lack of the royal patronage under the kingship of Emperor Aśoka as well as king Kaniṣka. Brahmanism was revived under the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.[25] The concepts of *Varṇāśramadharma* and panoplied of Vedic rites and rituals were emphasized. There were several protagonists of great repute, viz. Kumārila, Śaṅkara, Udayana, Uddyotakara, Maṇḍana, Vācaspati, Pakṣadhara, and so on for Brahmanism and Vedicism. Thus, the revival of Brahmanism paved the way for decline of Buddhism in India.

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[21] Dharmarakshita B., (ed. & tr.), *Suttanipāta,* Delhi, 1983: p.18.

[22] *The Sacred Books of the Buddhists,* vol. XII: p.275.

[23] *Yājñavalkyasmṛti,* vol. I, rpt., Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, No. 46, Pune 1969: p.271.

[24] *Viṣṇupurāna,* vol. I, 3.17.41 to 45, O.I., Vadodara, 1997, p.348 .

[25] Hazra K.L., *Royal Patronage of Buddhism in Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1983: p.208-9.

WITHDRAWAL OF ROYAL PATRONAGE

It may be theorized that the withdrawal of royal patronage of Buddhism is also one of the external factors for the decline of Buddhism in India. It is a fact that Buddhism got a couple of full-fledged royal patronages only, such as the Vardhana dynasty of Thāneśvara[26], and the Pāla dynasty of Bengal[27] in the Christian era. Apart from it, Buddhism did not receive royal patronage. The Gupta Empire provided a whole-heartedly royal patronage to Brahmanism. As a consequence, the Buddhist clergy - monks and nuns had to leave the hinterland, and they migrated to the mountainous regions as well as the foot-hills of the Himalayas. That is why during the Gupta Period and post-Gupta period a large numbers of the Buddhist caves, monasteries, *caityas,* and *stūpas* sprang into existence in the mountainous regions of Ajanta, Ellorā, Kārle, Kanherī, Bhaja, Bedsa, Sopara, Bharhut, Bāgh, Sāñcī, and so on.[28] The monks and nuns began to live in these places. Buddhism was confined to these areas due to the withdrawal of royal patronage, and thus paved the way for decline of Buddhism in India.

PERSECUTION BY ROYALTY

It may be again theorized that Buddhism was prosecuted by the royalty. The fiercest royal persecution was carried out by a Brahmin commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. He murdered his reigning Mauryan king Bṛhadratha, and usurped the throne of Pataliputra, modern Patna, in Bihar. He waged a brutal war against the hapless Buddhist monks, and announced a cash prize of one hundred gold pieces (*dinārāśatam*) for beheading a monk.[29] The teacher of Ācārya Vasubandhu was Ācārya Manorhita who had been prosecuted by the King of Śrāvastī, Vikramāditya. The great seventh century pilgrim and Buddhist scholar Hiuen Tsang writes in his travelogue titled *Si-Yu-Ki*[30] that the king of Śrāvastī, Vikramāditya, aided and abetted a great Buddhist teacher Manorhita to commit suicide simply because the teacher had given offhand a lakh of gold coins to a barber for tonsuring his head. This act of munificence by the Buddhist teacher enraged the king, and he got the teacher killed in the form of committing suicide out of humiliation at the hands of the King Vikramāditya.

Hiuen Tsang further informs that the King of Gauḍa, Śaśāṅka, murdered the Buddhist

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[26] Thapar R., *A History of India,* vol. I, rpt., London, 1986: p.143.

[27] Basham A.L., *The Wonder That Was India,* rpt., New Delhi, 2001: p.70.

[28] Mitra D., *Buddhist Monuments,* rpt., Calcutta, 1980: pp.90-99.

[29] Vaidya P.L., (ed.) *Divyāvadāna,* Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 20, Darbhanga, 1959: p.282.

[30] Beal Samuel, (tr.), *Si-Yu-Ki (Buddhist Records of the Western World),* rpt., Delhi, 1981: pp.106-8

King Rājyavardhana of Thāneśvara treacherously.[31] A. L. Basham also opines that in the sixth century CE, the Hūṇa king Mihirakula destroyed monasteries and killed monks. He further informs that a fanatical Shaivite king of Bengal, Śaśāṅka, in the course of an attack on Kānyakubja at the very beginning of the seventh century CE, almost destroyed the *Pīpal* (*Ficus religeosa*) Tree known as the *Bodhi* Tree or the Tree of Wisdom at Gaya in modern Bihar where Siddhārtha Gautama got Enlightenment.[32] The king Śaśānka was a Brahmin by caste,[33] and a Śaiva by faith.[34] Thus, the persecution of Buddhism by reigning kings is also one of the factors for the decline of Buddhism in India.

FOREIGN ATTACKS

One of the external factors for decline of Buddhism in India is related to foreign attacks. Mention may be made of the foreign attacks perpetuated by Huns and Muslims. The Huns were engaged in destroying the Buddhist images, monasteries, *stūpas* and *caityas.*[35]

The most notable foreign attacks were the Islamic invasions. The Nālandā Mahāvihāra was attacked by the Turks in 1197 CE. The Vikramaśīlā Mahāvihāra and the Bodh-Gayā Buddhist Establishments were also ransacked. The Nālandā Mahāvihāra was again attacked in 1235 CE. A. L. Basham opines, "In the first rush of the Muslim advance down the Ganges, Nālandā and other great monasteries of Bihar were sacked, libraries were burnt, and monks were put to the swords. The survivors fled to the mountains of Nepal and Tibet, and Buddhism in India was dead." [36] Thus, the Muslim attacks proved as the last straw on the camel's back. In my opinion, Buddhism got the Islamic invasions, when Buddhism had already become an endangered species. So the Muslim attacks gave a death-blow to Buddhism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which paved the way for decline and almost disappearance of Buddhism in India.

DOWNFALL OF URBAN CENTRES

It is a fact that Buddhism got a considered support from the trading and business communities. It got a full-fledged patronage from the business houses. In turn, Buddhism also provided ideological underpinnings to the urban phenomenon.[37] On the bed-rock of the above-mentioned fact, it may be, conversely, theorized that the downfall of urban centers gave an impetus to the declining dispensation of Buddhism. The literary and archaeological sources state that several urban centres declined from the Gupta period onwards, and others declined in the post-Gupta period.[38] Thus, the downfall of urban centers was one of the biggest set-backs to Buddhism. In this way, Buddhism declined due to dwindling urban centres.

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[31] *Ibid:* p.210.

[32] Basham A.L., *Op. Cit.* : p.265.

[33] Jayaswal K. P., *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text,* rpt. Delhi, 1994: pp.49-50.

[34] Banerjee J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography,* rpt. Calcutta, 1989: p.152.

[35] Coomaraswamy A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* 1st Indian edition, New Delhi, 1972: pp.73-4.

[36] Basham A.L., *Op. Cit.* : p.266.

It is, therefore, concluded on the basis of the substantiated hypothesis that Buddhism declined in India on a couple of levels, such as (a) the Decline from Above, and (b) the Decline from Below, encompassing several factors both the Internal and External.

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[37] Kosambi D.D., *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, rpt., New Delhi, 1981: pp.110-11.

[38] Sharma R.S., *Urban Decay in India (c. .A.D. 300 - c. A.D. 1000)*, Delhi, 1987: pp.58, 83, 92.

DAKṢIṆĀDĀNA - A SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDY

ALKA BAKRE*

Dakṣiṇādāna was one of the important social phenomena in ancient India. Like any other social phenomenon, it can be studied from various angles such as social, cultural, sociological, philosophical, historical etc. These viewpoints are not mutually exclusive, instead, they are collectively exhaustive and complementary to each other. More the number of angles resorted to while studying these phenomena, more comprehensive would be the findings. However, the present paper restricts itself to the study of this phenomenon from socio-historical standpoint.

Sociological standpoint

From sociological point of view, *dakṣiṇādāna* was one of the important social norms prevalent in ancient India. It was an Indian socio-religious custom, a cherished value which for centuries together was firmly rooted in the structure of Indian society. Being backed by sacred sanctions, it not only formed an important part of ritual, but, also that of ancient Indian religion. It became a significant constituent of ancient Indian cultural matrix. From sociological point of view, this norm could be studied in the light of the concept of social change - with an attempt to know whether the phenomenon of *dakṣiṇādāna* was a product of changing social circumstances, i.e., whether changes in society brought about changes in the nature and the types of *dakṣiṇādāna* and/or whether the phenomenon of *dakṣiṇādāna* brought about changes in society.

Historical standpoint

Historically speaking, like any other social phenomenon, *dakṣiṇādāna* could be studied in relation with time-factor. One can attempt to trace the evolutionary process in which gradual changes in every preceding stage can be seen to be impacting the succeeding stages.

Meaning of the terms *dakṣiṇā, dāna* and *dakṣiṇādāna*.

It will be worthwhile to firstly focus attention on the terms *dakṣiṇā* and *dāna* and then to understand holistically the term *dakṣiṇādāna*.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 49-58.

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The term *dakṣiṇā*

Yāska has derived the term *dakṣiṇā* from the root *dakṣ* which means to cause to prosper[1]. *Dakṣiṇā* was believed to be enabling the priest to perform sacrifices successfully[2]. It was paid by the sacrificer for the prosperity of sacrifice such as Agniṣṭoma and the like, *dakṣiṇā* was placed at the southern (*dakṣiṇa*) part of the sacrificial altar. Thus, this was one more reason as to why it was called *dakṣiṇā*. It enabled people to identify directions. In the course of time, the term *dakṣiṇā* was used in the sense of a reward that was to be given to the priest for the successful completion of sacrifice (Śat.Br.II.2.2.1).

The term *dāna*

Dāna or charity or generosity was one of the noble virtues cherished by Indian people right from the days of *Ṛgvedic* age. Many Sanskrit texts (Rv.I.125, V.61, VII.18.22-25, VIII.6.46-48, X.62, X.107.2,7,8, Tait.S. V.1.16.3, Tait.Br. II.2-5, Br.Up. V.2.3) are seen to be extolling the act of making gifts to the skies. According to the traditional Indian view, *dāna* denoted abandonment of something that belonged to oneself.

i) It reflected the intention of the donor to offer something to a deity with the accompaniment of Vedic *mantras.*

ii) It indicated cessation of one's ownership over a thing.

iii) According to the norms of *Dharmaśāstra,* it was followed by physical, verbal or mental acceptance of that thing by another person[3].

The term *Dakṣiṇādāna*

A combination of the words *dakṣiṇā* and *dāna* led to the formation of the term *dakṣiṇādāna* and it conveyed a specific sense in Indian context. The present paper aims at an in-depth and comparative study of the concept of *dakṣiṇādāna* as reflected in ancient Sanskrit texts according to the chronological order of reference and the concept of social change.

Dakṣiṇādāna in the Saṁhitās

The *Ṛgvedasaṁhitā*

The concepts of *dakṣiṇā* and *dāna* are as old as the *Ṛgveda*. The Rv is seen to be using the word *dakṣiṇā* in different senses.

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[1] Yāska, *Nirukta* I.7 *Dakṣiṇā dakṣateḥ samardhayati karmaṇaḥ vyṛuddham samardhayatīti.*

[2] Kau. Br. 15.1 *Dakṣiṇābhirvai yajñam dakṣayati*

[3] For more details see : P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmashastra,* Vol. II, Pt.2, BORI, Pune, 1974 (2nd edition), p.841.

General sense

In general sense, *dakṣiṇā* denoted oblations offered to gods or gifts bestowed by gods upon the mortals. The term *dakṣiṇā* was also used as an epithet, which conveyed the sense 'right', or 'right hand side'.

Specific sense

In the course of time, the word *dakṣiṇā* might have come to mean liberality in general and sacrificial gifts given away liberally in particular.[4] The Rv. refers to a priest who was immensely pleased after receiving *dakṣiṇā* (Rv. I.164.4). This indicates that *dakṣiṇā* was a great source of joy for *ṛtviks*. Further, the X *Maṇḍala,* which is decidedly the latest of all the *Maṇḍalas,* is in praise for the act of *dakṣiṇādāna* and for the persons giving away *dakṣiṇās* to Brahmins. Thus, e.g. it states that such persons would attain wealth, prosperity and the world of gods. They would live longer, would even become immortal (Rv.X.125.6) or would reach the heavenly world.[5] The well-known praises of gifts (*dānastutis*) (Rv.I.125, I.126, V.47.22-25, V.61, VII.18.22-25, VIII.5.37-39) which enumerate a variety of gift-articles, are in essence the praises of donors who gave away munificently to officiating priests at their sacrifices.[6] *Dakṣiṇās* constituted of horses, cows, strong bulls, chariots (*Ibid.* VI.55.2) and even women.[7] The statement that a person who is not generous is a sinner and will suffer from grief (*Ibid.* I.12.7) indicates that the *Ṛgveda* regarded charity or generosity as an excellent virtue. The hymns emphasizing the importance of handsome remuneration to the officiating priest-which are considered to be a bulk of uninspired liturgical literature-actually reflect a deliberate attempt of tempting the sacrificer to pay higher fees for greater merit in this or the next life. Interestingly, these merits were arranged in a graded manner corresponding to the exact proportion to the things given away.[8] Thus, the tendency to attach significance to the act of *dakṣiṇādāna* had begun in the days of the *Ṛgveda* itself, which is the oldest of all the Vedas.

The *Atharvavedasaṃhitā*

The Av. being the Veda of white and black magic formulas breathed a different spirit altogether. No wonder, therefore, if it is seen to be making only passing references to

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[4] For more details : K.R. Potdar : *Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Publication, Bombay (India), 1953, p. 119 ff.

[5] Rv. I. 125.5 *Nākasya pṛṣṭhe adhitiṣṭhati śritaḥ*

[6] For more details : M. Patel, *Die Dānastuti des Ṛgveda,* Doktorarbeit, Marburg, 1929, p.6.

[7] *Rv.* I. 126. 3 *Vadhūmanto daśa rathāsaḥ.* Also *Rv.* VIII. 19. 36 *Adāta Paurukutsyaḥ pañcaśatam trasadasyurvadhūnām*

[8] For more details : Sukumarji Bhatacharjee : *Literature in the Vedic Age,* Vol. I. K.P. Bagchi and Co., Calcutta, 1984, p.55.

dakṣiṇās. It does so in the metaphors presented and identifications established in the statements such as, "the southern fire (*dakṣiṇāgniḥ*) is *dakṣiṇā*, sacrificial gift (Av. XVIII.8) or the sky (*dyuloka*) is *dakṣiṇā*" (*Ibid*.I.52). At the same time, it is observed that the tendency to glorify the act of *dakṣiṇādāna* seems to be having a hold even on the minds of the composers of the hymns of the Av. Hence, occasionally it states that the donor of goats, cows, gold, clothes and food would earn concrete material gains, even a place in the better regions of the next world and would secure lustre and strength (Av. IX.5.9-10, X.6.1-6).

On the other hand, the *Yajurvedasaṃhitā*, being the Veda of sacrificial formulas, abounds in glorificatory statements regarding sacrifice and considered *dakṣiṇā* to be an essential component of sacrifice. (Yv. VIII.15.30). Kāṭhaka S. regarded sacrifice to be long-lived because of *dakṣiṇā*.[9] Mait.S. glorified sacrifice by identifying it with an ideal concept of *ṛta* and truth (*satya*)[10]. It also declared that *dakṣiṇā* would enable one to reach the heavenly world (*Ibid*. I.11.7).

Over the years, the sacrificial process became more and more rigid, complex and complicated.[11] Many new sacrifices, new rites with elaborate procedures were added to the earlier ones. Many rites falling outside the Vedic sphere of ritualism were incorporated in the sacrificial texts.

Dakṣiṇādāna in the Sacrificial Texts (Brāhmaṇas)

In the course of time, sacrifice became the be-all and end-all of the lives of people.[12] Consequently, *dakṣiṇā* which was an essential element of sacrifice attained supreme importance. Thus, according to the Ait.Br., although quantitatively little, *dakṣiṇā* was a must[13]. According to the *Tāṇḍya* Mbr., *dakṣiṇādāna* marked the completion of sacrificial activity and it enabled the sacrificer to get any of his desires fulfilled[14]. The oft-repeated expression "O goddess *dakṣiṇā* (*Devi Dakṣiṇe*)" occurring in this *Brāhmaṇa* points to an attempt at personification and deification of *dakṣiṇā* with a view to glorifying it. The Śat.Br. abounds in references to *dakṣiṇādāna*. According to it, under any circumstance, no offering should be without the payment of *dakṣiṇā*[15]. It expected the priests not to settle for any bargains in accepting *dakṣiṇā* and stated that the priests who engaged in bargaining *dakṣiṇādāna* would not reach the heavenly world (Śat.Br.IX.5.2.10).

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[9] Kāṭhaka S. 11. 7 *Yajñaḥ āyuṣmān sa dakṣiṇābhiḥ āyuṣmān*

[10] Mait. S. I. 10. 12 *Ṛtam vai satyam yajñaḥ*

[11] For more details : S. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi (India), 1997 (first published in 1922), p. 13.

[12] Winternitz M.A., *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Tr. by S. Ketkar, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, Delhi, Second edition, 1972.

[13] Ait. Br. VI. 55 *Tasmādāhurdātavyaiva yajñe dakṣiṇā bhavatyalpikāpi*

[14] Tāṇḍya Mbr. I. 13 *Evametena dakṣiṇāvatā yam yam kāmayate tam tam abhyaśnute*

The composers of the sacrificial texts knew that their attempt to glorify *dakṣiṇā* would succeed only if they could glorify sacrifice, sacrificial deeds and sacrificer as well. Thus, the Śat.Br. considered sacrifice to be the soul of all the gods (Śat.Br.XIV.3.2.1). It stated, "Agnihotra enables one to overcome even the calamity of death....."[16]. The Ait.Br. glorified the sacrificer as Prajāpati (Ait.Br.II.18) and the Śat.Br. (VIII.5.3.8) as Indra. Śat.Br. (IV.3.4.3) stated that no priest should officiate at Soma sacrifice if *dakṣiṇā* offered to him is less than hundred and justified this expectation with the maxim "Only by a hundred he invigorates himself, not by less than a hundred." Tait.Br. (I.6.1.4) expected 10,000 cows as the *dakṣiṇā* of Gosava and correlated the quantity and the type of this *dakṣiṇā* with the fruit (autocracy) to be secured.

The sacrificial texts attached paramount importance to the minutest detail of sacrifice like that of sprinkling of water.[17] They expected the priests to be perfect in every respect in carrying out their activities. The statements such as 'mistakes in the performance of Agnihotra would cause injury to the body, life or progeny of the sacrificer' (Śat.Br. II.3.4.18) emphasize the importance of well-trained priests who had mastered the science of sacrifice. Likewise, the statements like "On the priest rests the entire sacrifice and on the sacrifice the sacrificer" (Ait.Br. II.3.2.31) or "The sacrificial oblation goes exclusively to brahmins..... it is denied to non-brahmins" (Śat.Br. III.7.5.51) or "Sacrifice is satisfied after the brahmin is satisfied" (*Ibid.* III.7.3.28) hint at the deliberate attempt on the part of the priestly class to pose themselves to be superior to other classes and to gain respect.

The Sūtra literature and the Smṛtis

The composers of the Sūtras and the Smṛtis are seen to be continuing the same tradition. Yājñavalkya has enlisted various articles like lamp, horses, food, cloth, water, sesame seeds, gold, sandals, umbrellas etc. to be given away and has stated that a person giving them enjoys pleasures. Special significance was attached to the gift of a cow, especially to that of a cow that was about to deliver (*ubhayatomukhī*) (Yāj.S.I.206-207, Viṣṇu.Dh.S.88.1-4). Works on *Dharmaśāstra* have shown great concern about the difference between righteous conduct and unrighteous conduct (*dharmyādharmyavicāra*). Hence, they are seen to be laying down codes of conduct regarding *dāna* in general and *dakṣiṇādāna* in particular. Thus according to Yāj.S (II.176), what is promised is to be gifted and what has been gifted should not be taken back. Gautama (Gautama. Dh. S. V.21) and Manu (Manu.S.VIII.212) considered *dakṣiṇādāna* to be incomplete if a person to whom it was to be gifted was guilty.

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[15] Śat. Br. IV. 5. 1. 16 *Nādakṣiṇam haviḥ syāt*

[16] Śat. Br. II. 3. 3. 9 *Tadetat mṛtyumatimucyate. Saiṣāgnihotre mṛtyoratimuktiḥ. Ati ha vai punarmṛtyum mucyate.....ya etāmagnihotre mṛtyoratimuktim veda*

[17] Śat. Br. II. 1. 1. 3 *Eṣa vā apām saṁbhāro yadadbhirabhyukṣati yad āpaḥ sambharati-annameva āpaḥ.....tasmādidam lokamāpa āgacchati*

Dakṣiṇādāna in the Epics

The Mbh. is also seen to be glorifying *dāna* in general and *dakṣiṇādāna* in particular. The values of charity, generosity were çherished even in the days of the Mbh. The Mbh. not only considered *dakṣiṇā* to be a constituent of sacrifice, but, also critical in leading to the enrichment of the Vedas. The *mantras* unaccompanied with the payment of *dakṣiṇā* would never enable one to transgress this world (Mbh. Śānti. P. 80.11). The Mbh. considered *dāna* to be a righteous duty (*dharma*) (Mbh. Anu. P. 23. 96-103). On the one hand, the Mbh. contains references to *dakṣiṇā* in the form of cows to be given away to brahmins at the time of performance of the sacrifices (Mbh. Vana. P. 121. 11-12). On the other hand, knwoing the difficulties of common people in performing sacrifices due to their rigid and complex nature, it tried to diminish their importance. It laid down simpler means such as visits to holy places or to the confluences of the holy rivers and assured that *dāna* at these places would enable the donors to attain the fruits of the performance of even Aśvamedha, Rājasūya, Vājapeya and other such sacrifices (*Ibid.* Vana P. 24.131, 138, 141 ff).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is seen to be stressing the importance of sacrifices and *dakṣiṇādāna* at these sacrifices in consonance with *Śāstrika* rules (Rām. Yuddha K. 116. 64-65, 82, Ayodhyā K. 27. 31.3). *Bālakāṇḍa* refers to Daśaratha gifting cows and even ten crores of gold and silver coins (*Ibid.* Bāl. K. 13.41). According to the *Śrauta* tradition, a king was expected to give away the wealth of the eastern part of the country to the *hotṛ* and the wealth of the southern, western and northern parts to *Brahmā, Adhvaryu and Udgātṛ.*[18] The *Rāmāyaṇa* is seen to be following the same tradition (Rām. Bāl. K. 14. 43-44).

Dakṣiṇādāna in the Purāṇas

The composers of the Purāṇas knew that over the years, people were disgusted by the rigidity, complexity and expensive nature of ritualistic (*karmakāṇḍātmaka*) aspect of religion. Consequently, some of them were likely to follow Buddhism and Jainism which appeared as off-shoots of Hindusim. Hence, the Purāṇas gave a new turn to the concept of *dakṣiṇādāna.* They recommended several types of *dānas* in honour of brāhmins without expecting people to perform sacrifices[19]. The Kūr. P. considered a gift made to a brāhmin well-versed in the Vedas to be praiseworthy and meritorious (Kūr. P. II. 26.48, 56). The Pad. P (VI. 142.2) stressed the importance of visits to holy places, bathing at these places and stated that a person making gifts to *brahmins* at holy places would reach *Viṣṇuloka.* According to the Vām. P., gifts of just grains boiled in milk and moistened with ghee in honour of brāhmins would free the donor of sins and the act of feeding a brahmin at a holy place would enable him to receive favours from forefathers and gods (Vām. P. *Saromāhātmya* 15.2, 12). Thus, on the one hand, in order to wean people away from following Buddhism or Jainism, the composers of the Purāṇas are seen to be simplifying religion and transforming it into a mass religion. On the other hand, by recommending *dānas* in their own honour, they were trying their best to safeguard the means of their livelihood.

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[18] Kāt. Śr. S. XX. 4. 27. 28 *Vijayamadhyādhotuḥ prācī dik dakṣiṇā brahmaṇo, dhvaryoḥ pratīcyudgāturudīci. Tṛtīyam tṛtīyamanvaham dadāti bhūmipuruṣa brāhmaṇasvavarjam.* Also, Āśv. Śr. S. II. 4. 2. 13.

Conclusion

In conclusion it can be stated that in the distant past, references to *dakṣiṇādāna* reflected the belief in the ability of persons to win over Godheads, to have economic prosperity and social stability. However, over the years, supreme importance was attached to ritualistic activities[20]. With the increasing complexity and rigidity of rituals, the priests who performed these sacrifices were believed to be endowed with some special potential power. It is at this state that the payment of *dakṣiṇā* was made to the priest in recognition of their ability and potential power[21]. As is rightly pointed out by W.L. King. "....initially the sacred actions are seen to be informal and spontaneous. Step by step, they become ordered and standardized procedures. In the course of time, they culminate into elaborate rituals"[22]. Vedic sacrificial rituals accompanied with *dakṣiṇādāna* exemplify the same point. At a later stage, sacrifical texts considered priests to be on par with Gods[23]. They stated that if Gods are to be propitiated with oblations, Gods in the form of human beings (*manuṣyadevas*) were to be pleased with *dakṣiṇās*[24]. The priests became the highest authorities, they could regulate and control sacrifice and everything related to it. In the Puranic age, deliberate attempt was undertaken to replace the institution by simpler means. *Dakṣiṇā*, which was just an offering at sacrifices, was transformed into a priestly fee. Thus, from a historical point of view, *dakṣiṇādāna* as it occurred in the days of the Saṁhitās was influential in charting the courses of *dakṣiṇādāna* in the succeeding stages. From sociological standpoint, *dakṣiṇādāna* at the succeeding stages was a product of an interaction of certain antecedent forces. Sociologists take into consideration the long-standing and much-debated questions whether society brings about changes in religion or whether religion leads to changes in society. They have concluded that such questions are misleading since both religion and society intereact with each other and bring about a 'chain of causation'[25]. The same is true with respect to the relationship between the changes in society and the change in the nature of *dakṣiṇādāna*.

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[19] Brahmāṇḍa P. I. 16. 16-17, 19-20, Matsya P. 112. 16, Bh. P. IV. 164. 12-15, Gar.P. II. 42. 12, Liṅg. P. II. 39. 1.

[20] Śat. Br. I. 7. 1. 5 *Yajño vai śreṣṭhatamam karma*

[21] For more details : S.K. Belvalkar and R.D. Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy,* Bilvakunj Publishing House, 1927, pp. 75 ff.

[22] For more details : W.L. King, 'Religion', *Encyclopaedia of Religion,* Vol. XII, Mac Millan and Free Press, Editor in Chief Mircea Eliade, 1987, pp. 289 ff.

[23] Ṣaḍ. Br. I. 12 *Atha haite manuṣyadevāḥ ye brāhmaṇāḥ.* Also, Śat. Br. II 2. 2: 6 .... *vai devāḥ. Devāḥ aha vai devāḥ. Atha ye brāhmaṇāḥ śuśruvāṁsaḥ anūcānāḥ te manuṣyadevāḥ*

CHRONOLOGY

(Dates of some important works with respect to this paper)

4000 BC-1000 BC : The period of the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Upaniṣads

800 BC-500 BC : The *Nirukta*

800 BC-400 BC : The Principal Śrautasūtras

600 BC-300 BC : The *Dharmasūtras* of *Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha* and the *Gṛhyasūtras* of *Pāraskara, Baudhāyana* and others

200 BC-200 AD : *Manusmṛti*

100 AD-300 AD : *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*

100 AD-300 AD : *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

300 AD-600 AD : Some of the extent Purāṇas viz., *Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma* and *Matsya Purāṇas.*

600 AD-900 AD : Most of the other Smṛtis and some of the Purāṇas

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[24] Gopatha Br. I. 6 *Āhutibhireva devān hutādaḥ prīṇāti dakṣiṇābhiḥ manuṣyadevān*

[25] Nottingham Elizebeth : *Religion : A Sociological Review*, Random House, New York, 1971, p. 182.

The above dates given by P.V. Kane (*History of Dharmashastra,* Vol. II, Part I, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1941 pp. XI-XII) are regarded as the standard dates. The same have been accepted.

200 BC-200 AD : The extent of the *Rāmāyaṇa*
400 BC-400 AD : The *Mahābhārata*

A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ait Br. : *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
Anu. P. : *Anuśāsana Parva*
Av. : *Atharvaveda*
Āśv. Śr. S. : *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*
Ayodhyā K. : *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*
Bāl K. : *Bālakāṇḍa*
Bh. P. : *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*
Brahmāṇḍa P. : *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*
Br. Up. : *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*
Gar. P. : *Garuḍa Purāṇa*
Gopatha Br. : *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*
Kau. Br. : *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*
Kāṭhaka S. : *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*
Kāt. Śr. S. : *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*
Kūr. P. : *Kūrma Purāṇa*
Liṅg P. : *Liṅga Purāṇa*
Mait. S. : *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*
Manu S. : *Manusmṛti*
Matsya P. : *Matsya Purāṇa*
Mbh. : *Mahābhārata*
Padma P. : *Padma Purāṇa*
Rām. : *Rāmāyaṇa*
Rv. : *Ṛgveda*
Ṣaḍ. Br. : *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*
Śat. Br. : *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*

Tait. Br.	:	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
Tait. S.	:	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*
Tāṇḍya Mbr.	:	*Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*
Vām. P.	:	*Vāmana Purāṇa*
Vana P.	:	*Vana Parva*
Varāha P.	:	*Varāha Purāṇa*
Viṣṇu Dh. S.	:	*Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra*
Yāj. S.	:	*Yājñavalkyasmṛti*
Yv.	:	*Yajurveda*

LAW OF INHERITANCE AND INDIAN WOMEN

GAURI MAHULIKAR*

Introduction :

Social philosophy and economics are two fundamental topics related to society and these get affected by the status of women in that particular society. From other side, these are the factors that decide the position of women in any society. India has a rich heritage of intellectual works in various fields. Dharmaśāstras form one such group, which is regarded as the foundation of Indian laws. The *Manu Smṛti* (M.S.) is the first and foremost of these law books. The *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (Yāj.S.), the *Nārada Smṛti,* the *Baudhāyana,* the *Āpastamba,* the *Śaṅkha Likhita,* the *Viṣṇu* etc. are the other important *Smṛtis.* I would like to concentrate more on Yāj. S., in the light of *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, in addition to *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra. The topic of my paper is "Law of Inheritance and Indian Women". It is a small and much discussed issue; yet I thought of working on it, as, being a woman, it is close to my heart and secondly I was curious to find out if there are any factors that prompted ancient Indian law-makers to gender discrimination and unequal distribution of wealth. The paper, therefore, is divided in two sections: 1) actual laws of partition of property to women and 2) the possible reasons for framing such laws and their hermeneutical study.

Main source of the paper is the Dharmaśāstra literature quoted above, digests on it and information available on internet.

Section I :

Before turning to actual laws, one must understand different meanings of the terms *'dāya'* and *'dāya-vibhāga'.* The word *dāya* occurs in the *Ṛgveda* (X.114.10)[1], but it is more or less in the sense of reward or value of one's labour. *Dāya* is translated by Colebrooke as 'Inheritance' and the expression *dāya-vibhāga* as 'Partition of heritage'. It would be appropriate to call it 'a share or portion of inheritance or patrimony', says Gharpure[2]. The

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 59-65.

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[1] RV.X.114.10.

श्रमस्य दायं वि भजन्त्येभ्यो.......

[2] Gharpure, J.R. (Ed.) *Yājñavalkya Smṛti,* Second Edition, Bombay, 1939, p. 979.

word can be derived from root *'dā'* to give. That which is given is *dāya*. Ancient glossary of words explains the term as 'the paternal wealth fit to be distributed'[3]. The *Nārada Smṛti* explicitly states that it is distribution of patrimony made by the sons[4]. *Dāya* is of two types: unobstructed and obstructed; *apratibandha* and *pratibandha*. That wealth, which becomes the property of another, solely by virtue of his relation to the owner, is called unobstructed. A legitimate son, for example, is an unobstructed heir to his father's wealth even while the father is living. His inheritance is assured the moment he is born. This is *'janmasvatva-vāda'*. *Mitākṣarā* propagates this and it is followed almost everywhere in India. The other view is that as long as the father is alive, his children are not the onwers and they can claim to be owners only after father's death. This is called *'uparamasvatva-vāda'*, propagated by Manu and other older Smṛtikāras, endorsed by Jīmūtavāhana and is in vogue mainly in Bengal. One who gets *'dāya'* is *'dāyāda'*. In the fixed order of the claimants, widow of the deceased is on second position, first being that of the son, or grandson. Third is the daughter, then daughter's son, father of the deceased and then comes mother of the deceased on sixth position. Again these claims are granted in the absence of the earlier one.[5] This proves that women were never considered to be the first claimants of the property.

Daughter:

Manu denies separate share to girl child, but makes provision of her livelihood and marriage in the form of a warning that if the brothers do not give a quarter of their share to the sister, they would be called *'patita'* fallen and are disregarded.[6] Kauṭilya also says that an amount for bestowal in marriage is to be given to daughters. *(kanyābhyaśca prādānikam)* Option of girls as first claimant is kept open only in the case of a son-less father. Kauṭilya says, "Full brothers or those living with him shall receive the property of a sonless man or daughters (shall receive it)[7]. The expression of Kauṭilya is *'duhitaro vā'* and *'vā'* can hardly be understood as *'ca'*. The government of Maharashtra state in India has passed a law to promote gender equality in property inheritance and discourage the practice of dowry giving. The law provides for the right of a daughter to inherit parent's wealth on an equal basis with sons. In spite of such law, in many regions of rural India there is a strict social taboo on a daughter inheriting land, since, if she does so, the land is lost by her father's lineage and passes instead to her children, who belong to her husband's lineage. Secondly, she is likely to lose the affection of her brothers, together with their sense of obligation to support her in her bad days. The socio-economic angle behind opposing land inheritance to daughters is well reflected in 'Sīta's daughters: Coming Out of Purdah: The Rajput Women of Khalapur Revisited'. I would like to quote from this information gathered by Annabelle Perkins, of People's News Agency, Denmark, collected from net. "Modern agriculture, essential to food supply, requires relatively large land plots. Despite the destruction of most of the irrigation dikes, many Khalapur landholdings are already too small to utilize modern farming equipments. Landholdings in poorer states are still smaller. Land inheritance by daughters and by daughters' daughters would quickly divide landholdings among people living in diverse locations. Furthermore, it is the labour of sons that harvests the land and earns the money for investments such as tube wells and tractors. Sons may put in many years of labour between the time their sisters marry and their parents die. Equal inheritance by daughters means that they benefit from this labour without contributing for it. The opposition to female land claims is understandable, and it seems unlikely that it will diminish." In this cultural context, Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar has set the Ideal Law of Inheritance. "The sons and daughters shall inherit in equal shares the properties (movable or immovable) of their parents. The duaghters shall enjoy the immovable property while she lives, but shall not transfer to others. The property shall revert to her father's family after her death". This obviously, is a patriarchal view. In matriarchal Khasi and Garo tribes of Meghalaya, the laws are notably different. Among the Khasis, it is always the youngest daughter who inherits maternal or ancestral property. The parents may during their lifetime, provide their daughters with shares of any other property acquired by them. The status of youngest daughter is one of special importance. (webindia123.com)

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[3] *Ibid.*

विभक्तव्यं पितृद्रव्यं दायमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।
दीयते इति दायः ।

[4] *Nārada Smṛti* (*Vyavahārapāda*) 13.1.

विभागोऽर्थस्य पित्र्यस्य पुत्रैर्यत्र प्रकल्प्यते ।
दायभाग इति प्रोक्तं तद्विवादपदं बुधैः ॥

[5] Joshi, Mahadevshastri, (Ed.), *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛtikoṣa*, Vol.4, Pune, 1994, (1967) p.346

[6] M.S. IX.118.

स्वेभ्योंऽशेभ्यस्तु कन्याभ्यः प्रदद्युर्भ्रातरः पृथक् ।
स्वात्स्वादंशाच्चतुर्भागं पतिताः स्युरदित्सवः ॥

According to the ancient law- makers, the daughters are entitled for inheritance only in the absence of sons. This is a peculiar instance of brother-less maiden who is called

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[7] *Arthaśāstra - Laws of Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, III. 5.9-10, Reddy, Sujatha, Kanishka Publication, Delhi, 2004.
सोदर्याः सहजीविनो वा कन्याश्च । दुहितरो वा ।

'putrikā' in the works of Dharmaśāstra. A person, devoid of son, used to treat his daughter as son and her son was supposed to give libations to him and inherit his property[8]. It is worth noting that it is *putrikāsuta* and not *putrikā,* who inherits the property. Manu states that son and daughter are same; but actually he does not give her the right to claim paternal wealth. He further states, if after making the daughter *'putirkā'*, he begets a son, then the wealth is divided equally between the two. In such case daughter is not regarded eldest (M.S.IX.134 *jyeṣṭhtā nāsti hi striyaḥ)* and cannot claim the entire property, which the eldest son is entitled for (M.S.IX.105). The daughter gets the ornaments that she is wearing at the time of partition of wealth, says Śaṅkha (668)[9]. The sisters do not inherit, *(adāyādā bhaginyaḥ)* receiving only a share of the bell-metal dishes used for meals and ornaments from the mother's personal belongings.[10]

Widow :

Wife of the deceased, widow, is the most affected woman of the household. Yājñavalkya says, "Wives, to whom no *'Strīdhana'* has been given by her husband or the father-in-law, must be made partakers of equal portions"[11]. A superseded wife too gets equal share to what is expended on the second marriage; for the suppression *(adhivinnastriyai ādhivedanikam),* if no *'Strīdhana'* is given to her. But if it is given, half the sum expended on the second marriage should be given[12]. In ancient India polygamy was in vogue; as such provision was to be made for all wives. Now since 1955, the Hindu marriage act has abolished bigamy among Hindus and the offence is punishable with imprisonment up to seven years. In spite of this there are instances of bigamy. However, the possible complainant, the first wife, seldom invokes the law. Recently, after K. Suryanarayanan got killed by the Taliban, his second marriage with Swapna came in to news. Her marital claims will have no legitimacy in the eyes of the law, but her nine month old girl child will be considered legitimate regardless of the status of the parents' marriage. The Times of India gave the news on Wednesday, May 03, 2006. This legal paradox has a humanitarian value, in as far as, the small child is not made to pay for the illegality committed by the parents. Even in the polygamous state, son of a low caste woman was not entitled for the property[13]. Traditionally it is believed that *'Strīdhana'* is the sole property of women. This consists of the gifts given by her father at the time of marriage, while sending her to her in-laws' house, given by her husband, mother, father and brother[14]. Woman could enjoy that *'Strīdhana'* even after the death of her husband or give it to others except for the immovable property (*Vīramitrodaya* Vol. VIII. p.413). Śaṅkha Likhita states that *'Strīdhana'* cannot be seized even by a king. (689)[15]. Kauṭilya, having a king-centric welfare state in mind, states that king is the master of property of an issueless person, except that of a *'śrotriya'*[16]. This means that the widow was not regarded an independent inheritor of her husband's property. This is reflected in the drama *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* in the episode of Dhanamitra. King Duṣyanta orders to make sure that none of Dhanamitra's wives is pregnant, before all his wealth is deposited in the royal treasure following his sudden death (Act VI).

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[8] M.S.IX.127, 132

[9] Thakar A.D., *Reconstruction of Śaṅkha Likhita Smṛti,* Pub. Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 2003.

[10] *Arthaśāstra* III.6.8. अदायादा भगिन्यः ।

[11] Yāj.S.VIII.115

[12] *Ibid.* VIII. 148.

[13] M.S. IX.155 शूद्रापुत्रो न रिक्थभाक् ।

Section II :

In every society, there is inequality in terms of the distribution of property, power, prestige and so on. Thus stratification is an inevitable part of every society. Normally, class, caste, status and power are the four forms of stratification. However, gender can be regarded as the fifth. Historically, the period of Dharmasūtras, the foundation of the later Dharmaśāstras, especially Manu and the *Republic of Plato* is the same. Both Manu and Plato deal with the fundamental topics related to society and are subjected to rigorous criticisms. But one has to bear in mind that their remarks and opinions are responses to their age, and as such are to be studied with proper historical perspective, and in mutual comparison.

As far as Manu is concerned, he seems to have a peculiar attitude towards women. Women are respected and protected. They are the house-makers. Only such families prosper, where women are regarded (M.S. III. 55-60). In fact a mother is more venerable than a father (II.145). Yet, Manu has positive injunctions forbidding women's independence. He denies formal education to them (V.147-149), saying that the marriage ceremony of a girl is equivalent to the initiation and serving her husband is as good as residing and serving the teacher (II.67). Remarriage of widow is not allowed (IX.65). Yet Manu trusts the institution of family. Indian thought has always nurtured the concept of family; whereas, Plato proposes abolition of the institution of family. Plato was witness to the status of Athenian woman, who was confined to four walls of the house, alienated from social life and treated as an instrument of procreation. Family was a place where her energies were wasted in rearing children and it brought tensions and anxieties[17]. The change in the attitude of these two great thinkers has paved the path for value system in the oriental tradition and lack of it in the occidental one.

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[14] *Ibid* 194 षड्विधं स्त्रीधनम् ।

[15] *Reconstruction of Śaṅkha-Likhita Smṛti, Ibid.*

[16] *Arthaśāstra* III.5.28,29

One has to bear in mind that Smṛtikāras were not rulers; nor did they owe their authority to any sovereign political or military power. The influence depended solely on the voluntary internalization of such value systems by the groups to which they addressed. Actual enforcement was left to the political leaders. The social custom of child marriages served as one more factor for the denial of inheritance to women. Girls were married at very young age, as such their responsibilities were transferred to their husbands. Father became free and hence no share was given to daughters. Secondly, the statement of Manu, '*na strī svātantryam arhati*' was distorted, misinterpreted by many and as such women were deprived off the share[18]. Actually this statement is an outcome of extra care and over protection of women. Centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, have witnessed foreign invaders like the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas, Kuṣāṇas and Huṇas; and this, roughly is the period of encoding or systematizing the laws.

As Keith points out, there was a Brahmanical revival in the first century B.C., though on a small scale. Later law books were strictly Brahmanical and they stood out in point of view from the schools of Arthaśāstra[19], which, obviously, represents such revival.

Smṛtis are definitely the recollections of Vedic thoughts; so it seems obligatory to look into these, for any traces. Yāska, the first known etymologist, opens the topic of inheritance or parental property and quotes verses, found in many Dharmaśāstra works of later period, stating that the right of inheritance can be availed by both the genders, without any distinction whatsoever[20]. Though this appears to be an idealistic and utopian picture, in the present Hindu Law books, daughter is enlisted as class one heir of her deceased father, along with her brother and mother[21]. Yāska has opened the hot debate. He gives both the views of the prima facie and the rejoinder. Prior, denying inheritance to girls and the latter, making deal for the brother-less girl. This issue might be at the root of the concept of *'putrikā'* and *'putrikāsuta'*, discussed in all the works of Dharmaśāstra. This has also helped soften the brutality against women to certain extent.

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[17] Sawant, Ashwin, *Manu Smṛti and Republic of Plato,* Himalaya Publishing House, Mumbai, 1996, p.145,146

[18] Joshi, Mahadevashastri, *Op.cit.,* Vol. VIII, p.617

[19] Keith, A.B., *History of Sanskrit Literature,* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Reprint 2001 (1993), p.339-442

[20] *Nirukta* III.4, *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta,* (Ed.) Sarup, Lakshman, MLBD, Delhi, 1967 2nd reprint

[21] Misra, Ranganath, (Revised.), *Mayne's Hindu Law and Usage,* 15th edition, Delhi, 2003, p.1148

Conclusion :

Neither Śāstras nor Smṛtis suggest that there exists an immutable, universal, moral doctrine. Rather they emphasize that codes of morality must be specific to time, person, place and evolve according to changing requirements. Mahatma Gandhi wrote, "Every word in the 'Śāstra' is not in my opinion, a revelation. The interpretation of accepted texts has undergone evolution and is capable of indefinite evolution, even as the human intellect and heart are. Nothing in the Śāstras, which is manifestly contrary to universal truths and morals can stand[22]. The number of women speakers, including the respected chairperson; Justice Sujata Manohar has more than proved the evolution in the status of women.

Lastly, while speaking about the flexibility in Hinduism, Rajiv Malhotra makes a comment, which is worth noting. He says, "Each Smṛti regards itself to be a man-made construction for that time and place (which should make post-modernists very happy), and is to be superceded by other man-made constructions for other contexts. Today, Hinduism needs new Smṛtis for this era, using all prior systems as guidelines, but not as final by any means." (From internet) I think what we need today is unbiased approach to construct new Smṛti pertaining to modern times.

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[22] *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi,* Vol. LXII, p.121.

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

THE M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA
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THE TENETS OF *SĀṄKHYA* PHILOSOPHY IN THE *VĀYUPURĀṆA*

MEENA P. PATHAK*

It is accepted by all Indologists, Oriental as well as Occidental, that the *Vāyupurāṇa* (VP) is the oldest and authoritative *Purāṇa*. It is well known that the *Purāṇas* are not systematic treatises on any philosophy. They are not the works on any single subject. It is therefore impossible to construct a single philosophical system from them. However there are well knit philosophical ideas and disquisitions scattered in a desultory manner through which the VP imparts its philosophical tenets.

The VP like other *Purāṇas* contains discussions and information on several branches of learning. Scholars have studied this *Purāṇa* from different angles. Here also an attempt is done to throw some light on the tenets of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy depicted in the VP.

VP advocates the qualities of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* and evolution of the world out of *Prakṛti* under the guidance of the Lord. Its philosophy is a blend of the *Sāṅkhya* dualism and theism of the *Upaniṣads*. Of all the philosophical systems, *Sāṅkhya* has been considered by all to be the most ancient.

The vocable *Sāṅkhya* is derived from सम् + ख्या + अङ् + टाप् (Saṁ + khyā + aṅ + tāp.) The prefix सम् denotes 'properly' and the word ख्या means to count, to think. Thus the plain meaning that the word denotes is 'properly thinking, properly counting'. Thinking refers to the basic principles or knowledge of Self, while counting refers to the twenty five principles of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. The double implication of the word has been set forth in *Mahābhārata* as :-

संख्यां प्रकुर्वते चैव प्रकृतिं च प्रचक्षते ।
तत्त्वानि चतुर्विंशत्तेन सांख्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ 12.306.43

Thus *Sāṅkhya* means the discriminative knowledge of the manifest, the unmanifest and the knower as well as the *Śāstra* which consists of twenty five elements.

As all know, according to *Sāṅkhya* philosophy the whole universe consists of the twenty five elements. The main subject of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy is *Puruṣa*, the object

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 67-73.

* Oriental Institute, The M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara.

N.B. The references to the Vāyupurāṇa are from the Anandashram Edition of Poona, 1983.

is *Prakṛti*, the remaining twenty three are the *buddhi, ahaṅkāra, manas*, five organs of action, five organs of perception, five fine elements and the five gross elements.

PURUṢA:- The supreme reality, the Highest Brahman is known by the vocable '*Puruṣa*'. *Brahman, Ātman, Para, Kṣetrajña, Vibhu* etc. are the synonyms of the *Purusa*. Brahman is the root cause of the creation. The author of the **VP** is very much fond of derivations.

He generally tries to give etymology of every word. Some of them are grammatically correct, some ingenious, but most of them are popular. The three different derivations of the vocable *Puruṣa* are given at three different places.

(1) व्याप्तित्वात्पुरुषः स्मृतः (13.23^{b}) because he pervades everything he is called *Puruṣa*.

(2) पुरि शेते तथाऽभ्रे च तस्मात्पुरुष उच्यते (14.16) since the soul abides in the body, it is named *Puruṣa*.

(3) यस्मात्पुर्यनुशेते च तस्मात्पुरुष उच्यते ।
पुरप्रत्ययिको यस्मात्पुरुषेत्यभिधीयते ॥102.117॥

since it lies in '*pur*' (body) it is called *Puruṣa*. Moreover the term is also derived as पुरःप्रत्ययिक, since it is the knower (प्रत्ययि) of the body (*puri*) it is called so.

This *Puruṣa* is described as the origin of the universe. He is beginningless, endless, unborn, steady, imperishable, eternal.

अजातं ध्रुवमक्षय्यं नित्यं स्वात्मन्यवस्थितम् ।
जगद्योनिं महद्भूतं परं ब्रह्म सनातनम् ॥ 4.20

The etymology of the word Brahman is given as, 'because of its bigness and because it creates the beings and lifts them up from their resting place, the cosmic water.'

बृहत्त्वाद्बृंहणत्वाच्च भावानां सलिलाश्रयात् । 4.31^{cd}
यस्माद्बृंहयते भावान्ब्रह्मा तेन निरुच्यते । 4.32^{ab}
बृहत्त्वाच्च स्मृतो ब्रह्मा । 5.42^{ab}

Puruṣa is also known as '*para*'.

परश्च पुरुषो ज्ञेयः प्रकृतिश्च परा स्मृता । 5.20

Puruṣa is also known as Ātman. Here also the author according to its nature, gives the derivations of the word Ātman. According to the author, *Puruṣa* is called Ātman because whatever he attains, takes up and exists for the enjoyment of objects that is his permanent being.

यदाप्नोति यदादत्ते यच्चास्ति विषयं प्रति ॥ 5.34^{cd}
यच्चास्य सततं भावस्तस्मादात्मा निरुच्यते ॥ 5.35^{ab}

The another important feature of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy is the philosophy of the "plurality of *Puruṣa*". We know that there are different individuals in the world with varying proclivities and each has a soul. It proves the pluralities of *Puruṣas.* This same theory is also accepted by VP. He says that since there is the perception of happiness and sorrow severally in the different bodies, the multiplicity of *Puruṣa* should be known.:-

बहुत्वाच्च शरीराणां शरीरी बहुधा स्मृतः ॥ 102.37^{cd}

Again,

अव्यूहासंकराच्चैव ज्योतिर्वच्च व्यवस्थितः ।
यस्मात्प्रतिशरीरं हि सुखदुःखोपलब्धिता ॥
तस्मात्पुरुषनानात्वं विज्ञेयं तु विजानता ॥ 102.38

Thus the plurality of *Puruṣa* is established because birth, death and the organs are allotted separately and due to different modifications of the three attributes, plurality of *Puruṣa* is proved.

PRAKṚTI :- *Prakṛti* is the most active element and ever forming cycles of evolution in the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. It is the root cause of the creation of *Buddhi* and *Ahaṅkāra* etc. *Pradhāna, Avyakta, Kṣara, Kṣetra, Para, Jñāna, Adhiṣṭhāna* etc. are the synonyms of the *Prakṛti. Prakṛti* according to *Sāṅkhya* concept is the uncaused cause of the world. In **VP** (4. 18), the description of the *Prakṛti* is given in the words as, "*Prakṛti* the unmanifest primary cause is of the nature of existent (*sat*) and non-existent (*asat*). It is eternal. It is also called as *Pradhāna.* It is devoid of smell, colour, taste, sound and touch. It is unborn, steady, imperishable and stationed in its own self. It is the origin of the universe. It is the extension of all elements. It is beginningless, endless, subtle, possessed of three attributes."

अव्यक्तं कारणं यत्तु नित्यं सदासदात्मकम् ॥ 4.18^{cd}
प्रधानं प्रकृतिं चैव यमाहुस्तत्त्वचिन्तकाः ।
गन्धवर्णरसैर्हीनं शब्दस्पर्शविवर्जितम् ॥ 4.19
विग्रहं सर्वभूतानामव्यक्तमभवत्किल ।
अनाद्यन्तमजं सूक्ष्मं त्रिगुणं प्रभवाप्ययम् ॥ 4.21

This *Prakṛti* is never created, nor can ever perish. It is called imperishable(*Akṣara*) as it does not waste away (*na kṣayati*).It does not perish (*na kṣarati*). Evolutes spread from it. It is not diminished.

न क्षीयते न क्षरति विकारप्रसृतं तु तत् ।
अक्षरं तेन चाप्युक्तमक्षीणत्वात्तथैव च ॥ 102.116

Again it is said that as it protects man from the unceasing cycle of death, birth and hells and also from miseries, is called *Kṣetra*.

संसारनरकेभ्यश्च त्रायते पुरुषं च यत् ।
दुःखत्राणात्पुनश्चापि क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥ 102.114
अव्यक्तं क्षेत्रमित्याहुर्ब्रह्म क्षेत्रज्ञ उच्यते । 102.34[ab]
अव्यक्तं क्षेत्रमुद्दिष्टं ब्रह्मा क्षेत्रज्ञ उच्यते ॥ 4.89[cd]
इत्येषः प्राकृतः सर्गः क्षेत्रज्ञाधिष्ठितस्तु सः । 4.90[ab]

Prakṛti is the equilibrium of the three *guṇas* and the ground of all modifications,physical and psychical. गुणसाम्यं ततः परम् । 102.31[b]

BUDDHI :- *Buddhi* is the first product of *Prakṛti*. As soon as cosmic vibrations begin to disturb the quiescent state of *Prakṛti* and release the *guṇas*, *rajas* acts upon *sattva* and manifests itself as *Mahat*. The same theory of the manifestation of the element *Buddhi* is narrated in **VP** 4.23 as:-,As all this universe which was enveloped in darkness was pervaded by Ātman, when the *guṇas* were in equilibrium. But at the time of creation, *Tamas* reached a subsidiary state. Due to this subsidiary state of *Prakṛti*, the principal of *Mahat* appeared.

गुणसाम्ये तदा तस्मिन्गुणभावे तमोमये ।
सर्वकाले प्रधानस्य क्षेत्रज्ञाधिष्ठितस्य वै ॥ 4.23
गुणभावाद्भाव्यमानो महान्प्रादुर्बभूव ह । 4.24[ab]

Buddhi is the main cause of the creation of *Ahaṅkāra*. *Buddhi* has twofold activities viz. conception and discrimination. :-

संकल्पोऽध्यवसायश्च तस्य वृत्तिद्वयं स्मृतम् ॥ 4.46[cd]

This *Buddhi* performs the creation when urged by desire to create.

Buddhi is recognized by the names as *Manas, Mahat, Mati Brahmā, Pūḥ, Khyāti, Īśvaraḥ, Prajñā, Cit, Smṛti, Saṁvid* and *Vipuraṃ*.

महांस्तु सृष्टिं कुरुते नोद्यमानः सिसृक्षया ।
मनो महान्मतिर्ब्रह्मा पूर्बुद्धिः ख्यातिरीश्वरः ॥ 4.27
प्रज्ञा चितिः स्मृतिः संविद्विपुरं चोच्यते बुधैः । 4.28[ab]

The derivations of all the synonyms of all the words of *Buddhi* are explained one by one from stanzas 4.28 to 4.40.

BONDAGE;- According to *Sāṅkhya* bondage is merely the reflection on him of the impurities of *Buddhi* and 'release' is just the removal of this reflection. The wrong concept that the pleasure and pain, release and bondage belong to *Puruṣa* is called *Avidyā* and the cause of this *Avidyā* is the failure to discriminate *Puruṣa* from *Prakṛti*. The acquiring of such discrimination by knowledge of the twenty five elements is the aim of the soul. The **VP** 102. 57 to 73 discusses the nature of Ignorance and *Trividhabandhaḥ*. The **VP** says that all living creatures do not understand the reality due to their being overwhelmed by *Tamas*. And due to non-realization of the reality, they are bound by three types of Bondage. Three *bandhas* are:-(1)*Prākṛta bandha* (2)*Vaikārika bandha* and(3) *Dakṣiṇā bandha*. Due to these bondages, the creatures turn round and round in *saṁsāra*. These bondages are due to ignorance. They cause pain and pleasure, happiness and misery, feeling of possessiveness etc. Opposite to this, the cessation of attachment and hatred is called knowledge. Due to the perfect knowledge, one renounces everything. As a result of renunciation, the intellect becomes detached, one becomes pure, one becomes liberated by means of *Sattva guṇa*.

तमसाऽभिभवाज्जन्तुर्याथातथ्यं न विन्दति ।
अतत्त्वदर्शनात्सोऽथ त्रिविधं बध्यते ततः ॥ 102.58
प्राकृतेन च बन्धेन तथा वैकारिकेण च ।
दक्षिणाभिस्तृतीयेन बद्धोऽत्यन्तं विवर्तते । 102.59
इत्येते वै त्रयः प्रोक्ता बन्धा ह्यज्ञानहेतुकाः ॥
अनित्ये नित्यसंज्ञा च दुःखे च सुखदर्शनम् ॥ 102.60
रागद्वेषनिवृत्तिश्च तज्ज्ञानं समुदाहृतम् ।
अज्ञानं तमसो मूलं कर्मद्वयफलं रजः ।
कर्मजस्तु पुनर्देहो महादुःखं प्रवर्तते ॥ 102.62

Again,

ज्ञानाद्धि त्यज्यते सर्वं त्यागाद्बुद्धिर्विरज्यते ।
वैराग्याच्छुध्यते चापि शुद्धः सत्त्वेन मुच्यते ॥ 102.66

***MOKṢA* (Release)**:- Bondage is for one who is fettered to a worldly existence and liberation is to get released from it.

तेन बद्धस्य वै बन्धो मोक्षो मुक्तस्य तेन च ।
संसारे विनिवृत्ते तु मुक्तो लिङ्गेन मुच्यते । 102.76

Mokṣa is a super-moral state of perfection, which is devoid of merits and demerits. Complete renunciation of righteous and unrighteous actions leads to *Mokṣa*. One who is perfectly pure and sinless, can know Para Brahman. Super consciousness trance gives true knowledge which experiences Brahman or the Supreme Self.

सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥ 10.94
अविद्यां विद्यया तीर्त्वा प्राप्यैश्वर्यमनुत्तमम् ।
दृष्ट्वा परापरं धीराः परं गच्छन्ति तत्पदम् ॥ 18.6

Liberation is threefold:-

स चापि त्रिविधः प्रोक्तो मोक्षो वै तत्त्वदर्शिभिः । 102.78[cd]
पूर्वं वियोगो ज्ञानेन द्वितीयो रागसंक्षयात् ।
लिङ्गभावात्तु कैवल्यं कैवल्यात्तु निरञ्जनम् ॥ 102.79
निरञ्जनत्वाच्छुद्धस्तु ततो नेता न विद्यते ।
तृष्णाक्षयात्तृतीयस्तु व्याख्यातं मोक्षकारणम् ॥ 102.80

The liberated soul do not experience misery caused by the obstacle to the worldly objects of desire, melody etc. One who is completely liberated from the body in the form of *guṇas* as well as *prāṇa* etc., does not take up another body, just as sprout never comes out when seed is burnt.

मुक्तो गुणशरीरेण प्राणाद्येन तु सर्वशः ॥ 102.105[cd]
नान्यच्छरीरमादत्ते दग्धे बीजे यथाऽङ्कुरः ॥ 102.106[ab]

Liberated state of soul is described at one place as:-the birth and death occur perpetually among living beings. But the sages and the persons who are endowed with learning are not deluded in this matter. The *Purāṇa* in support of this statement gives example of sages like *Dakṣa* and others. They are born in every *yuga*. They undergo subsequent death too. But a learned man is not confused in this matter.

उत्पत्तिश्च निरोधश्च नित्यं भूतेषु सत्तमाः ।
ऋषयोऽत्र न मुह्यन्ति विद्यावन्तश्च ये नराः ॥ 63.49
युगे युगे भवन्त्येते सर्वे दक्षादयो द्विजाः ।
पुनश्चैव निरुध्यन्ते विद्वांस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥ 63.50

THEORY OF EVOLUTION :- The **VP** advocates the qualities of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* and evolution of the world out of *Prakṛti* under the guidance of the Lord.

Prakṛti is the equilibrium of the three *guṇas* viz. *sattva, rajas* and *tamas*. But this equilibrium of the *guṇas* is disturbed by some kind of influence of *Puruṣa*. When this equilibrium of the *guṇas* is disturbed, some *guṇas* overpower the other *guṇas* and start the process of evolution. *Prakṛti* produces the *Mahat, Buddhi* first. *Mahat* is modified in to *Ahaṅkāra*. *Ahaṅkāra* is modified in to the eleven sense organs viz. *Manas*, five organs of knowledge and five organs of action on the one hand and the five subtle essences on the other. Again these five subtle essences are modified into the five gross elements. This whole theory of creation is described in detailed in **VP** 4.22 -24; 4.46-74.

Again it is stated that the *guṇas* work in mutual co-operation and thereby produce the cosmic egg like a water bubble. From this cosmic egg, the *Kṣetrajña* called Brahman, also called *Hiraṇyagarbha* is produced. This god loses his body at the time of each *pralaya* and gains a new body at the time of a new creation.

DISSOLUTION:- This cosmic egg is covered by water, light, heat, air, ether, *bhūtādi, mahat, avyakta* (अष्टौ प्रकृतयः).These eight *prakṛtis* abide thus covering up mutually. Abiding at the time of creation, they swallow up one another at the time of dissolution. Thus is the creation and dissolution of *Prakṛti* presided by *Kṣetrajña* (**VP** 4.76-90). This same theory of *pralaya* is also described at **VP** 102.2-36.

Another theory of creation is described in the **VP** 5 .12-15 as:- *Prakṛti* is the state of equilibrium of *sattva, rajas* and *tamas* in dissolution. But the great God (*Brahmā, Śiva*) enters into *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* agitates *Prakṛti* by *yoga* and starts evolution. When the *guṇas* are thrown into disequilibrium, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Agni* emerge. Brahmā produced from *rajas, Viṣṇu* from *sattva* and *Agni* from *tamas*. Here Brahmā is the creator, *Viṣṇu* is the preserver and *Agni* is the destroyer.

Three types of dissolution is explained in *VP* viz. *Naimittika*, *Prākṛtika* and *Ātyantika*.

आत्यन्तिकः प्राकृतिकश्च योऽयं नैमित्तिकश्च प्रतिसर्गहेतुः । 3.23^{ab}

There are some of the thoughts of *Saṅkhya* philosophy scattered in **VP.** This is but an humble endeavor to bring forth some tenets of *Saṅkhya* philosophy from the **VP**, the great *Mahāpurāṇa*.

લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કોમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કોમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કોપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **મુકુંદ લાલજી વાડેકર**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક, અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં .... રૂ. ૪૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં .... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઓફ અમેરિકા માટે ...... ૧૨.૦૦ ડૉલર (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે .... પૌં. ૭.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાત આપવા માટે લખો

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય',
પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મ.સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

EARLY TERRACOTTAS FROM KANAUJ CHESSMEN ?

RENATE SYED*

An Old Indic and an Old Persian source connect the Indian city of Kanauj or Kānyakubja with the game of chess, *Caturaṅga.* These sources, Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* from the early 7th century AD and Firdawsī's *Śāhnāme* from the late 10th century, refer to Kanauj of the 6th and early 7th centuries AD. In Kanauj as well as in the surrounding cities, numerous terracotta figurines of armed warriors, horses, elephants and chariots were found, which archaeologists date to the 5th century AD onwards. In view of their representation and size, which is between five and fifteen cm, they could be chess figures.[1] In this contribution, I would like to demonstrate the connection of the city of Kanauj with the game of chess. I will present the Terracottas referred to, of which the meaning and function are still unclear, and I will propose that they were possibly used as chessmen.

Kanauj and the Caturaṅga

The city of Kanauj

The city of Kanauj or Kānyakubja[2] experienced its rise after the first quarter of the 6th century AD as the residential city of the Maukharis. Majumdar (1954:xvi) summarizes the events of the 6th century briefly in the following way: 'The Hūṇas [the Huns, R.S.] disappeared as they came. The Gupta Empire, grown very weak, was dissolved, the virile Maukharis emerged victorious. But with their rise began a new phase in Indian history. Kanauj emerged as the symbol of a new order.' In his work *History of Kanauj,* Tripathi writes that the city was founded long before the beginning of the Christian era, but did not reach its real zenith until the middle of the 6th century AD, when the Maukharis made it their capital (1959:preface). It was most probably the Maukhari Īśānavarman who conquered Magadha and its capital Kanauj (Chattopadhyaya 1958:223).

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 75-92.

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[1] Besides the king and minister (our 'queen'), ancient Indian chess consisted of two elephants, two horses and two chariots as well as eight foot soldiers for each of the two colours (Syed 1995; 2001)

[2] In the *Mahābhārata* the city is called Kanyakubja, Kānyakubja and Kanyākubja (*Mhbh* 3.115.9 and 17). In Buddhist literature the city appears as Kaṇṇakujja (Law 1954:93), in Prakrit its name is Kaṇṇaujja, *e.g.,* in Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* 3.5.

During the first half of the 7th century, King Harṣavardhana of the Puṣyabhūti dynasty reigned in Kanauj. After him the city belonged to the empire of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and in AD 1018 it was destroyed by Mahmūd of Ghazni. Situated in the northern Indian plains on the Ganges, Kanauj was an important trading centre and place for merchandizing goods from the whole of India.[3] The Chinese pilgrim Xuan Zang, who travelled in India in the first half of the 7th century, describes the splendour of the city and remarks: 'Valuable merchandise is collected here in great quantities' (Beal 1884, 1:206). An Arabic work from the 9th century reports that precious fabrics, muslin, turbans and herbs came from Kanauj (Chandra 1977:203).

The Maukharis, Harṣa and the *Caturaṅga*

The Maukharis, formerly vassals of the Guptas,[4] became stronger at the beginning of the 6th century, when the Gupta empire disintegrated. Their rivals were initially the Late Guptas, against whom the Maukharis, however, were able to withstand.[5] The Maukharis also played a decisive part in driving the Hunas out of India.[6]

The exact dating of the Maukhari kings is uncertain, as it is based on controversial readings of the numbers on the Maukhari coins; the inscriptions merely give us the order of the rulers.[7] According to this, the first historically identifiable ruler of Kanauj was *Mahārāja* Harivarman. His rise may be assigned to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century AD (Devahuti 1970:15). He was followed by his son *Mahārāja* Ādityavarman, who was succeeded by *Mahārāja* Īśvaravarman. The latter's son Īśānavarman was the first ruler of the dynasty to bear the title of *Mahārājādhirāja.*[8] Īśānavarman's son Śarvavarman also bore that title. During his reign the empire acquired its greatest extension. Śarvavarman was followed by his son Avantivarman, who in turn was succeeded by his son Grahavarman ascending the throne of Kanauj. With his death the dynasty of the Maukharis of Kanauj came to an end (Devahuti 1970:24-32). Only those Maukhari kings who ruled in Kanauj bore the title of *Mahārājādhirāja, viz.,* Īśānavarman, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, and only they issued coins.

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[3] The position of the city in trade and traffic (as well as military expansion and administration) was excellent: 'The importance of Kanauj in ancient times was probably due to its strategic advantages. The city stood on a cliff on the right bank of the Ganges, which was then a highway of commerce and communication, and it must have, therefore, been a convenient centre for traffic in the upper Doab [land of two streams, the Gangā and the Yamunā, R.S.]' (Tripathi 1959:1, fn. 1).

[4] 'The Maukharis were a very ancient tribe whose branches were spread over different parts of the country' (Devahuti 1970:24). The dynasty can be traced back to the 3rd century AD in inscriptions. See Altekar 1937:42 and Majumdar 1954:67.

[5] From the undated Aphsad inscription we learn that Ādityasena from the family of the Guptas of Magadha had waged war against the Maukhari king Īśānavarman, and that Ādityasena's son Dāmodaragupta had also fought the Maukharis (Fleet 1888:200-208, Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena, in particular lines 5-9).

[6] Pires 1934:91 and Tripathi 1959:46.

[7] The Harāhā inscription of King Īśānavarman, dated to the Vikrama year 611, equivalent to AD 554, is particularly important for the genealogy of the Maukharis. See Śāstri 1917-1918. The names of the Maukhari kings and their wives appear in the Asirgadh copper seal inscription of Śarvavarman (Fleet 1888:219-221). The Deo-Baraṇārk inscription demonstrates that Avantivarman was the successor of Śarvavarman (Fleet 1888:213-218).

Inscriptions, coins and deeds recording gifts prove that Śarvavarman was the most important ruler of the Maukhari dynasty. Pires writes about him: 'Śarvavarman was a paramount sovereign, to whom homage was due from all kings of Northern India. ....[His] sovereignty was acknowledged throughout practically the whole of Northern India. ....We may further assume that Śarvavarman's dominions extended westwards as far as the easternmost tributaries of the Indus, including perhaps even that country of Sthāṇvīśvara (Thānesar) ....' (Pires 1934:90, 92). And Devahuti notes how 'Śarvavarman, who definitely extended the Maukhari dominion, perhaps in three directions, must have enjoyed a long reign. His several coins, his Asirgarh seal and references to him in the records of other kings all point to an eventful and long career. Twenty to twenty-five years therefore appears to be the reasonable duration of his reign' (1970:30). With this, Devahuti rejects the old datings by Burn and Majumdar, who accorded to Śarvavarman only a short rule, while assigning a longer one to Īśānavarman.[9] The dating by Burn had already been doubted by Śāstri in his treatment of the Harāhā inscription. According to his calculation, Śarvavarman ruled from AD 560 until 580, and Avantivarman from AD 580 until 600 (1917-1918:113).

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[8] Śāstri 1917-1918:111-112; Smith 1957:155; Devahuti 1970:25. On the title '*Mahārājādhirāja*' Fleet writes: '*....lit.* "supreme king of Mahārājas".... is one of the titles indicative of supreme paramount sovereignty, and is the only expression that properly and fully answers to our idea of a "king" (1888:10, fn.3).

[9] According to Burn (1906:849), who founds his opinion on the reading of legends on the coins of Īśānavarman, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, Īśānavarman reigned in the year AD 553, Śarvavarman in the years AD 553, 554 or 555 and 557, and Avantivarman in the years AD 556, 569 and 570. According to Pires' reading, AD 579 was the last year of Śarvavarman's reign (1934:163-164). According to Majumdar (1954:70) and Pires (1934:164) Īśānavarman reigned from AD 550 until 576, Śarvavarman only from AD 576 until 579-580. But Majumdar is unsure: 'Unfortunately, the numerical figures are very uncertain, and widely divergent readings have been proposed by different scholars. So it is impossible to form any definite conclusion from them....' (1954:70). On Majumdar and criticism of his proposed dating, see Devahuti 1970:29.

According to Devahuti's dating, Īśānavarman reigned until AD 560 or 565, Śarvavarman from AD 560 or 565 until 585, Avantivarman from AD 585 until 600, and Grahavarman from AD 600 until 606 (1970:30). Anyhow, in the second half of the 6th century the Maukharis dominated large parts of northern India. They 'emerged as the paramount power on the Gangetic Plain. ....With the establishment of Maukhari hegemony Kānyakubja replaced Pāṭaliputra as the imperial capital, and the ancient Kuru-Pañcāla region again became the primary political core of Northern India' (Schwartzberg 1978:181).

The last Maukhari ruler in Kanauj was Grahavarman, Śarvavarman's grandson. In the year AD 603 or 604 he married Harṣavardhana's sister, Rājyaśrī. In his biography of King Harṣavardhana (the *Harṣacarita*, 'Life of Harṣa'), written around AD 630 to 640, the poet Bāṇa, living at the court in Kanauj, describes this event in great detail and praises the Maukhari dynasty with the following words: 'At the head of the royal families (of India) there is the family of the Maukharis, which is revered by all the world like the footprint of Maheśvara (Śiva). The firstborn son of (King) Avantivarman, the ornament of this race, named Grahavarman, who resembles the lord of the planet (the moon) descended down to earth and who is in no way inferior to his father with respect to virtues, demands her (our daughter Rājyaśrī for his wife).[10]

Gṛhavarman was killed in AD 605 or 606 by Devagupta, the king of Mālava. Due to the short period of his reign, no inscriptions or coins of Grahavarman exist. Kanauj was in the hands of Devagupta for a short while, when Harṣa conquered Kanauj, the capital city of his slain brother-in-law. He freed his widowed sister Rājyaśrī, who at that time was only 12 or 13 years old. Grahavarman had left no heir, so in Kanauj, which Harṣa made into his new capital instead of Sthāṇvīśvara, he reigned until his death in the year AD 647.[11] There are two valuable contemporary sources on the rule of Harṣa in Kanauj: Bāṇa's biography of King Harṣa and the report by the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who travelled in India between 629 and 644 (Beal 1884). The poet Bāṇa became acquainted with King Harṣa at the beginning of Harṣa's fifth decade, *viz.*, shortly after AD 630.[12] By that time, Harṣa had already waged most of his numerous wars of conquest, and his empire was experiencing a period of peace in which, as Bāṇa states, the drawing-up (*kalpanā*) of the armies (*Caturaṅga*) (now only) took place on the gameboards with 64 fields (*aṣṭāpada*): *aṣṭāpadānāṃ caturaṅgakalpanā* (*Harṣacarita* 2, ed. P.V. Kane 1918:35). This is the oldest preserved mention of the game *Caturaṅga* or the *aṣṭāpada*, and it proves that around AD 630 to 640 chess was played at the court in Kanauj.

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[10] *Harṣacarita* 2, ed. P.V. Kane 1918:35.

[11] See on this *Harṣacarita* 7, ed. P.V. Kane 1918:67 as well as Pires 1934:116-125, 129-130 and Devahuti 1970:72.

[12] *Harṣacarita* 2, ed. P.V. Kane 1918:30: *pañcamīpraveśa*. Harṣa, born in AD 590, ascended the throne of Kanauj after the death of his brother Rājyavardhana and after some wars. He was not even twenty years old at the time.

The 'Rāy of Qannūj', Khusrau Anushirvan and the *Catrang*

A Middle Persian text from the early 7th century entitled *Wizārišn Ī Catrang* ('Explanation of chess') or *Matikān*-e *Šatranj* ('Treatise on chess') calls the Indian king who sent the game of chess to the Sasanian Khusrau Anushirvan (r. AD 531-579) 'Devasarm', 'Devasaram' or 'Dēwišarm' (depending on the mode of transcription). However, the text does not state that this king reigned in Kanauj.[13]

According to the epic Shāhnāme, composed by the Persian poet Firdawsī, it was the 'Rāy of Qannūj'[14] in India who sent King Khusrau Anushirvan a game of chess: 'The king of the world learned from his watchful observers that the envoy of the King of India had arrived, accompanied by elephants, shades and knights from Sindh (Indus).....'[15] The numerous and precious gifts, including jewels, shades, gold and silver, musk, ambra and fresh incense, rubies and silk fabrics, were, according to the *Shāhnāme*, 'all products from Qannuj and the empire of the Ray' (Abka'i-Khavari 1998:38). The Indian envoy presented the Sasanian king with the game of chess, saying: 'Give orders that those who strive hardest regarding the sciences be confronted with this chessboard, they shall confer with one another and explain the intricate game, they shall guess the name of each figure and after that its house, they shall recognize the infantry, the elephants, the army, the rok [the chariot, R.S.], the horse and the gait (mode of movement) of the Farzin [minister, R.S.] and the king' (Abka'i-Khavari 1998:38). The *Caturaṅga* thus reached Persia as a game, it had a gameboard and a set number of figures, which moved and struck according to certain rules.

There can be no doubt that 'Rāy of Qannūj' means the *rājā*, king, of Kanauj.[16]

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[13] In his English summary Panaino translates: 'Thus they say that, in the reign of Xusraw of the Immortal Soul, Dēwišarm, the great lord, king of India, sent one set of catrang (and) sixteen pieces made of emerald and sixteen made of red ruby, to test the intelligence and wisdom of the lords ..... of Erānšahar .....' (1999:249).

[14] According to Wolff, *rāy* means 'Raja, king' (1935:427), Qannūj is a 'geographical name, city in India' (1935:622). Wolff remarks that the city also appears as Qānūj in the *Shāhnāme*.

[15] *Shāhnāme* VIII. 2628 ff., Moscow ed., 1960-1971. The German translation is by Abka'i-Khavari 1998:38, translated into English by R.S.

[16] In his 1898 article, MacDonell had already identified 'Qannūj' (transcribed by him as 'Kanūj') as Kanauj (p. 129). However, he did not pursue this line of thought any more than Murray did. The latter wrote: 'Under the Persian name Kanūj, the town is associated by Firdawsī in the *Shāhnāma* with the introduction of chess into Persia under Khusraw I Nuschirvan, 531-79 A.D.' (1913:52, fn.3).

However, this king is not further identifiable from the *Shāhnāme*. Regardless of the identify of this king and the historicity of the statement of the *Shāhnāme*, the following points can be regarded as certain :

1. The Indian game of *Caturaṅga* travelled from India to Persian, where it was called *Catrang.*[17] It has been linguistically proven that the Sanskrit word *Caturaṅga*, 'composed of four parts', 'army', is the basis of the Middle Persian word *Catrang*. 'The name of the game of chess indicates that it came to Iran from India in pre-Islamic times. It cannot have taken the opposite way from Iran to India' (Sundermann 1999:59).[18] All Old Persian sources assume the Indian origin of the *Caturaṅga.*[19]

2. The terminus *ante quem:* The *Caturaṅga* must have reached Persia before the conquest of the Sasanian empire by the Arabs, *i.e.*, before AD 650, for the names show that the Arabs took over the game from the Persians.[20] The mention of *Catrang* in the *Wizārīšn Ī Catrang* in the early 7th century further proves the existence of chess in Persian before the advent of the Arabs. All Arabic sources assume the Indian origin of chess (Wieber 1972:92-99).[21]

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[17] The figures, their arrangement, their progress and their modes of fighting and striking were modelled on the ancient Indian army, which was also called *caturaṅga,* and on the theory of war. I have treated this matter in detail in a study of ancient Indian war-theoretical literature (Syed 1995).

[18] This was already seen by Sir William Jones two hundred years ago (1790:159). The Iranist Sundermann states that the Arabic word for chess, *śatranj,* which undoubtedly forms the basis for Spanish *ajedrez* and Portuguese *xadrez,* is a loanword from Persian, as it cannot be derived from three radicals (consonantal stem sounds), as would be the case with an Arabic word proper. Sundermann continues: 'But Middle Persian *catrang,* i.e. the word used in Iran until the 7th/8th centuries A.D., is a loanword in Middle Persian as well. It cannot be a native word, as Middle Persian does not have the consonant cluster *tr*...... If *catrang* is a loanword, the most obvious solution seems to be to derive it from Old Indic *caturaṅga* documented in Sanskrit.......The initial *aṅga*- ''member'' is an Indic word without any equivalent in the Iranian languages' (1999:59).

[19] Syed 1995:67; Abka'i-Khavari 1998:31.

[20] MacDonell (1898:10) writes: 'Had the chess come into Persia from India after that date [652 AD, R.S.], it is likely the Arabs would have obtained a first-hand knowledge of the game.' In the battles of AD 636 and 642 the Arabs inflicted the worst defeats on the Sasanians. Around AD 651/652 the Sasanian Yazdegird was murdered (Schippmann 1990:146).

[21] According to the Arabic historian Mas'ūdī, who wrote in the first half of the 10th century, King Khusrau Anushirvan received the game of chess, the collection of fairy tales entitled 'Kalīla wa Dimna' (called *'Pañcatantra'* in India) and some black hair dye from the Indians. See on this Nöldeke 1892:22.

3. The terminus *post quem:* The *Caturaṅga* cannot have reached Persia before the early 6th century, as its invention in India can hardly be dated before 500.[22] The earliest Persian references to *Catrang* all date from the period after AD 600.[23]

Thus, the period in which chess came to Persia probably extends from the middle of the 6th century (at the earliest) and AD 630 (at the latest). If one doubts the truthfulness of the statements made in the *Wizārīšn Ī Catrang* and in the *Shāhnāme,* then the sending of the game of chess by an Indian king to a Persian ruler might also be questioned. Thus, Panaino calls the Dēwišarm mentioned in the *Wizārīšn Ī Catrang* 'fictitious' (1999:245). Of course, the *Caturaṅga* could have reached Persia with traders, soldiers or scholars. Regardless of whether the statements in the *Shāhnāme* are to be treated as historical facts or not, *Caturaṅga* came to Persia during the period when Kanauj was the political and economic centre of northern India. If one believes the *Wizārīšn Ī Catrang* and Firdawsī, chess came to Persia under Khusrau Anushirvan. This coincides largely, as elaborated above, with the probable period in which *Caturaṅga* must have reached Persia in any case. During the politically significant period of Khusrau's rule, the most important northern Indian kings of the century ruled from Kanauj, *viz.,* the Maukhari Kings Īśānavarman from approximately AD 554 until 560 or 565, and King Śarvavarman from AD 560 or 565 to 585. Īśānavarman's and Khusrau's reigns thus overlapped for six or eleven years,[24] Śarvavarman and Khusrau shared at least fourteen years of rule (AD 565 until 579).

In the *Wizārīšn Ī Catrang* the Indian king is called 'the great lord, king of India' (Panaino 1999:249), in the *Shāhnāme* he is the 'King of India' (VIII, 2632, Abka'i-Khavari 1998:39). This would fit both the Maukhari King Īśānavarman and his successor Śarvavarman, as both used the title *Mahārājādhirāja.* A further designation of the 'Rāy of Qannūj' in the *Shāhnāme* could also point to the Maukharis. The Indian delegate, obviously, an intellectual Brahmin, is addressed with the words: 'You priest of the Rāy, whose origin is from the sun.......'[25]. In their inscriptions the Maukharis also trace their origin from the sun god; 'the Maukharis thus were *sūrya-vaṃśīś*.[26]

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[22] The complete silence of the voluminous Indian literature on a game named *caturaṅga* prior to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* suggests that such a game did not exist before the 6th century. Of course, the silence is no *proof* for the non-existence of *caturaṅga* by this time.

[23] The Pahlavi work *Kārnāmak-i Arta ksīr-i Pāpakān,* according to which the Parthian King Ardaschir (AD 224-240) learned to play chess, was written around AD 600 at the earliest (ed. Nöldeke 1879:39). The *Wizārīšn ī Catrang* is also from late Sasanian times (Abka'i-Khavari 1998:29 and Panaino 1999:245).

[24] Khusrau came to the throne at a very young age and had to suppress rebellions and revolts for many years. It took several years for the kingdom to be at peace and Khusrau to be established. He did not gain full power until the middle of the 6th century.,

In the *Wizārīšn Ī Catrang* the Indian king is called 'Dēwišarm' (Panaino 1999:93, 249),[27] which seems to be based on Sanskrit 'Devaśarman'. But an Indian king as a member of the warrior class cannot have borne a name ending on '*-śarman*', as this is exclusively a designation for brahmins. The onomastic element '*-varman*' of the Maukhari name shows them to be members of the warrior class. On his coins and in the inscriptions Śarvavarman is called *śarvvavarmma deva* as well as *deva śarvvavarman,*[28] as Indian kings frequently bore the title *deva*, 'god', 'lord'. Could 'Dēwišarm' be a modification (contraction) of the designation *deva śarvvavarmma* ?

An exchange of delegations between the Maukharis and the Sasanians seems highly probable, as under Śarvavarman the dominions of Maukharis extended up to the Indus.[29] The *Shāhnāme* tells us that the delegation from the Rāy of Qannūj was accompanied by riders from the region of the Indus.[30] This indicates that the Rāy of Qannūj indeed ruled over the area mentioned. After the Huns had been driven out, the empire of the Maukharis nearly bordered on the easternmost parts of the Sasanian provinces. The expulsion of the Huns had relaxed the political situation in northern India considerably and had opened up the roads between India and Persia.[31] Not only Firdawsī, but also the historian Ṭabarī (AD 839-923), who came from Persia and wrote in Arabic, reports that Khusrau Anushirvan and Khusrau II (AD 590-628) received Indian delegations.[32]

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[25] *Shāhnāme* 8.2686; Abka'i-Khavari 1998:39. According to the latter, the title '*khvarshid cehr*', 'descended from the sun', is borne by the Sasanian kings in the *Shāhnāme*. According to Bartholomae, Old Iranian *cithra*, which is the basis of Modern Persian *'cahr'*, means, among other things, 'face' and 'origin', 'descent' (Bartholomae 1904:586-587; Engl. transl. by R.S.).

[26] Devahuti 1970:241. See the Harāhā incription of Īśānavarman, where the Maukharis or Maukharas are called the descendants of the hundred sons whom Aśvapati obtained from Vaivasvata, or the seventh Manu, who is supposed to be born of the Sun (Śāstri 1917-1918:111). In the *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa also says that the Maukharis are a solar race. According to *Harṣacarita* 4, ed. P.V. Kane 1918:16, the marriage of Rājyaśrī, who was descended from the lunar race of the Puṣpabhūtis (=Puṣyabhūtis), with Grahavarman, a descendant of the Mukharas [sic, R.S.], constituted the union of the moon with the sun.

[27] According to Panaino: '......in grafia pahlavi .....d y p š l' (1999:93).

[28] Barah copper plate of Bhojadeva (Śāstri 1927-1928), as on his coins (Burn 1906:844).

[29] The inscription on the Nirmand copper plate of the *mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja* Samudrasena mentions that a Śarvavarman made a donation of land at the river Sutlej (Fleet 1888:286-291). Devahuti writes: 'The extension, even if briefly, of Maukhari influence in the Panjab and the identification of the Śarvavarman of the Nirmand inscription with the Maukhari king of that name appear feasible. In fact no other power but the Maukharis, and among them Śarvavarman, appears to fit in with the circumstances' (1970:28). The opinion that the dominion of the Maukharis extended to the Indus under Śarvavarman is also shared by Pires (1934:90, 92) as well as Majumdar (1954:69-70).

[30] 'Accompanied by ...... riders from Sindh'; *Shāhnāme* 7.2632, Abka'i-Khavari 1998:38.

In the *Shāhnāme* Firdawsī says that the collection of Indian folk tales *'Kalīla wa Dimna'* came to Persia under Khusrau Anushirvan.[33] The Arabic historian Mas'ūdī confirms this.[34] The historicity of this event is not doubted by scholars. Thus the Iranist Wiesehöfer writes: 'Xusro's look to the East is indicated by the translation, authorized by him, of a version of the Indian work of fables *Pañcatantra,* .... brought back from India by the doctor Burzoy' (1993:291).[35] According to the Indologist Winternitz, it was the Northwest Indian version of the collection of tales, together with other Indian texts, that was translated into Pahlavi by order of Khusrau (1920:299). Thus, the route along which the tale collection travelled from northern India to Persia was most probably also that of the *Caturaṅga* in about the same period.

As to *Caturaṅga* and its connection with Kanauj, it is noteworthy that Śarvavarman was the grandfather of Grahavarman, Harṣa's brother-in-law. At Harṣa's court in Kanauj chess was played, and Harṣa had inherited the throne of Kanauj as the heir of the Maukharis. Had he also taken over the war game *Caturaṅga* from the Maukharis ? If *Caturaṅga* was played around AD 630-640 in Kanauj, undoubtedly it must have been known there some decades before, when Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman ruled over Kanauj. We may assume that the game *Caturaṅga* was invented around AD 500 in northern India and quickly spread, also to Kanauj, the most important city in the North around the middle of the 6th century. The invention and spread of a war game imitating battle, the progress of which does not depend on luck in throwing the dice, but purely on the achievement of the mind, on strategic and tactical considerations, are not surprising at this particular time and in this geographic area. 'The late fifth and the sixth centuries were an age of mutually repellent and warring states engaged in petty internecine jealousies, and hence statesmanship and military skill of a high order were called forth to hold the empires together' (Tripathi 1959:130).

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[31] See Schwartzberg 1978:25, pls 3D. 1a-b. According to this, around AD 500 the Sasanian territory stretched right into what is today Pakistan; the Gupta empire extended up to the Indus; and the area of northern Pakistan and northern Afghanistan was under the rule of the Huns.

[32] Nöldeke 1879:371 and Devahuti 1970:146.

[33] Nöldeke 1892:22 and MacDonell 1898:126, 130, *Shānāme*, ed. Mohl 1979, 6:356-365.

[34] Cp. note 22.

[35] Wiesehöfer points out Khusrau's occupation with philosophy, theology and statesmanship as well as with foreign contributions to law and medicine. In his *'Book of Deeds'* Khusrau acknowledged his interest in Byzantine and Indian law (Wiesehöfer 1993:291).

My hypothesis is that the game *Caturaṅga,* invented around the middle of the 1st millennium AD in northern India, developed from a didactic model of the same name which was a kind of sandpit game of the war theoreticians. I assume that this older *Caturaṅga* was played without a gameboard and with a variable number of figures, which represented the different elements of the army, in order to imitate the setting-up of armies and the course of battle. I believe that this *Caturaṅga,* not documented in any texts, was used for training purposes in strategy and tactics.[36]

Terracottas from Kanauj and other cities of Northern India

The finds

In central northern India, at Kanauj, Ahicchatra, Pāṭaliputra and numerous other cities, a great number of terracottas have been excavated. Among these are figurines of standing armed warriors as well as elephants, horses and chariots.[37] However, there are no figurines that, as a group, could be interpreted as forming a chess set.[38] Also I do not know of any specimens that could unequivocally be identified as a 'king' or a 'minister'.[39] I will present some of these terracottas, with illustrations and descriptions taken from the publications on these finds, in order to discuss their interpretation as figurines of warriors, elephants, horses and chariots used in the *Caturaṅga*. Nigam's dating of the pieces as 'post-Gupta' points to the 6th century and thus to the epoch of the Maukharis. However, we must realize that the dating of these terracottas is extremely difficult and in no case certain. *No.1.* A warrior, from Kanauj; Post-Gupta terracotta' (Nigam 1981:216 and pl.6). Here, as in the other cases, the precise recovery site within the city of Kanauj is not mentioned. 'A terracotta figure in dull grey, prepared from a single shallow mould..... presents a male warrior standing. The lower portion of the plaque is broken, but the posture of the feet can be known from several similar incomplete figurines in the collection. ....He holds a sword in the right hand while the left is akimbo.' The scale provided by Nigam below the illustration shows that the figure, with legs and feet, must have been about 12 to 15 cm high (fig. 32.1).

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[36] Syed 1995; 1998; 2001:10-14.

[37] Among the terracottas, there are many different animals: bulls, dogs, monkeys, lions, tigers and camels. See Altekar and Mishra 1959:119 and Prakash 1985:38.

[38] As none of the excavators and art historians thought of chess figures in connection with the terracottas, it is possible that an (incomplete) set was not recognized as such.

[39] Conclusive statements cannot be made before all terracottas in the museums of the places mentioned have been sorted. Most pieces, however, are kept in hardly accessible go-downs.

No.2. A warrior, from Kanauj; Post-Gupta terracotta' (Nigam 1981:216 and pl.7). 'A fragmentary terracotta figure, dull red, pressed against a single shallow mould. ....is the bust of a warrior. ....The masculinity of the warrior who holds a khetaka [*kheṭaka,* 'shield', R.S.] in his right hand has been expressed by the broad chest.' Judging from the scale the complete figure must have been between 12 and 15 cm high (fig. 32.2).

No.3. A warrior, from Kanauj; Post-Gupta terracotta' (Nigam 1981:216 and pl.8). 'A dull red, fragmentary terracotta figure of warrior... . He holds an oval shield in the left hand which is resting on the left knee. It may be conjectured that a sword or lance may have been held in the right hand in a charging posture as also suggested by the position of the things. The figure is in [the] round. The moulded head has been lutted to the hand modelled body.' Judging from the scale, its height must have been approximately 15 cm (fig.32.3).

No.4. A rider on horseback, from Ahicchatra (Agrawala 1947-1948:154, fig. 213). 'Male rider on horseback, complete with the feet of the horse resting on the base-plate.' Belonging to stratum IIIb, 'A.D.550-660' (Agrawala p.153). Twenty-three riders of this type have been excavated. Each figure was produced from a double mould' (p.152). The scale shows that the figure is approximately 9.5 to 10 cm. high. Interestingly, Agrawala (1947-1948:153) writes: 'This type [of horse, R.S.]. may be identified with the Kāmboja horse.... referred to by Bāṇa (*Harṣacarita,* p.62)' (fig.32.4).

No.5. A rider on horseback, from Bhitari, near Ghazipur (Prakash 1985:10, 127, pl.10). 'Horse rider, warrior, ... latest period [AD 300-600, R.S.]. ....It is double moulded and half seated figure fixed on a pedestal [sic, R.S.].[40] Prakash does not mention the size. He refers to ten comparable rider figures from this period found at Ahicchatra. These have not been published yet (1985:127). This type was widespread since the Gupta period (p.126)(fig. 32.5).

No.6. An elephant, from Kumrahar (Altekar 1959:119). 'Ninety-seven terracotta animals, entire or fragmentary, were found. ... Majority of these animals are solid.' According to Altekar the elephant belongs to Period IV and thus to the time between AD 300 and 450. The elephant is circa 7 cm long and nearly 6 cm high. The village of Kumrahar lies to the South of Patna/Pāṭaliputra (fig. 32.6).

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[40] According to Prakash 74 terracotta human figurines and 65 animal figurines were found at this place. All are 'datable not earlier than the fourth century AD'. They were all made in a mould (1985:38).

No.7. An elephant, from Pāṭaliputra (Sinha and Narain 1970:12). 'Red terracotta, no wash or slip. ... Mould made. From period III' [until AD 500, R.S.]. The elephant is about 4.5 cm high and 5.5 cm long (fig. 32.7).

No.8. A chariot, Hastināpura (Lal 1954-1955:88 and pl. 48). 'Wheeled toy-cart. ....Excavated from an early level of period IV, early second century B.C. [to] late third century A.D.' (fig. 32.8).

Interpretations

No conclusive evidence can be given for the use of these Terracottas as chessmen. However, we may consider such a use. None of the authors referred to linked the Terracottas with chess. According to Prakash and Altekar the figures are toys.[41] However, the assumption that these figurines were toys for children is just as speculative and without proof as the supposition that these Terracottas were chessmen and thus toys for men. Terracottas in human and animal shapes, which were possibly also used in a religious context, have existed all over India from the earliest times onwards. When chess was invented, one could thus make use of already existing forms. The following factors point towards a possible use as chessmen:

- These figures were mostly produced in forms or moulds. This indicates that they were manufactured serially. Apparently their artistic design was of minor importance;
- There are several copies of the warrior figurines from Kanauj (no.1). Nigam speaks of 'several similar incomplete figurines';
- Some of the terracottas are grey (no.1), otheres red (nos 2 and 3). It is unclear whether they were painted;
- The horses and elephants have flat bases (nos 4, 5 and 6). Due to their fragmentary state, it is not possible to tell whether the warriors had flat bases;
- The height is between 5 and 15 cm;
- The meaning and use of these Terracottas are as yet unknown;
- The figures were found in central northern India (the Gangetic plains) and thus in an area in which, in all probability, chess originated. This area was ruled by the Maukharis. The geopolitical synopsis in Schwartzberg's atlas depicts the dominion of the Maukharis as including Kānyakubja, Prayāga, Ayodhyā and Pāṭaliputra (1978:145, pl. 14.1, map 1). Most of the Maukhari coins were found in this area, *i.e.*, in Ahicchatra and Ayodhyā (Tripathi 1959:298), as well as in Lucknow (Burn 1906:847);

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[41] Prakash 1985:122; Altekar 1959:1.

In Ahicchatra the number of serially manufactured elephant and horse terracottas with solid bases increased between AD 300 and 600 (Prakash 1985:122). This city is situated approximately 80 km Northwest of Kanauj and belonged to the core area of the Maukhari realm. Here seventeen elephants were found. Prakash writes: 'The elephant figures lack the sophistication of the preceding period. The figures are generally devoid of any decoration. Double moulded elephant figures are mostly found from these sites. A large majority of elephant figures showed the representation of riders. They are mostly represented on a pedestal.' The following also applies to the period mentioned: 'An interesting development was the occurrence of a large number of horse figurines with rider. In many cases the person depicted as a rider is shown as a warrior. ...This type is very popular and almost every site of the valley has yielded this type. The figures are generally mouldmade. The rider is often represented like [a] warrior' (Prakash 1985:126-127). The horses were also mould-made, or, as Prakash indicates, moulded horse figures are found mostly from all the sites of the valley' (p.126) In the period between AD 300 and 600 the animal figures, so Prakash informs us, are supplied with flat bases: 'Yet another interesting development was the provision of a flat or pedestal base on which the animal figures stood. ....This was meant to facilitate the use of the figures as toys' (p.122).

Epilogue

I can offer no conclusive evidence for the historicity of Firdawsī's statement and my corresponding thesis that a *rājā* of Kanauj sent the game of chess to Khusrau Anushirvan. But different kinds of clues do point to the Gangetic plain as the area in which chess was most probably invented and from where it made its way first to Persia, and then out into the world. The existence of *Caturaṅga* played on the *aṣṭāpada* around AD 630-640 as documented in the *Harṣacarita* proves that chessmen were used by this time. Is it possible that the Terracottas presented here were such chessmen used in the 6th century?

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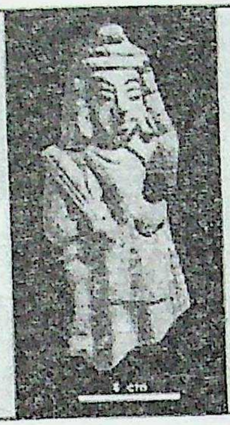

32.1

A warrior, from Kanauj.

Terracotta, 'post-Gupta period'.

Photograph after Nigam 1981:pl. 8.

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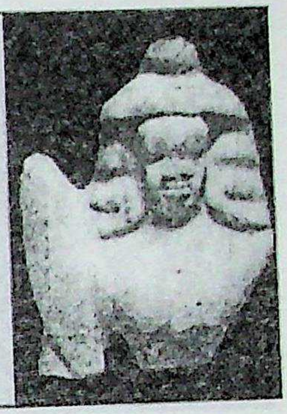

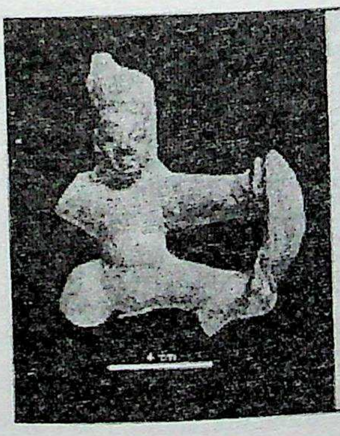

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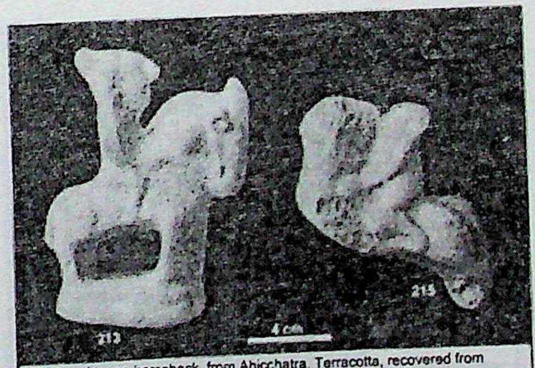

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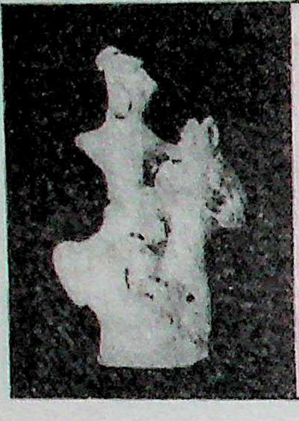

32.5

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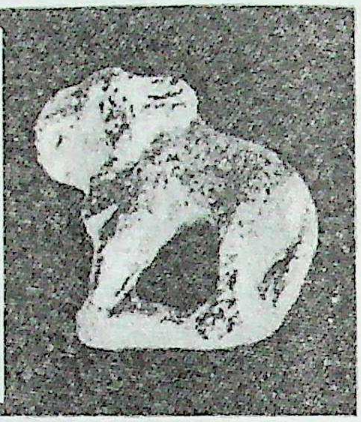
Terracotta, ca. AD 300-600.

Photograph after Prakash 1985:pl. 10.



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Terracotta, from Period IV, ca. AD 300-450.

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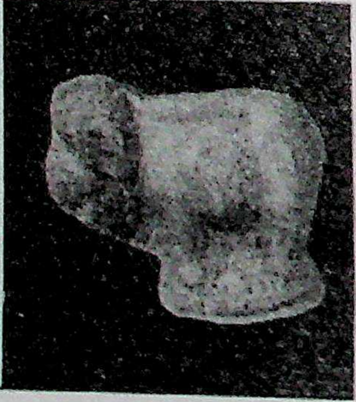

32.7

An elephant, from Patna.

Terracotta, from Period III, ca. until AD 500.

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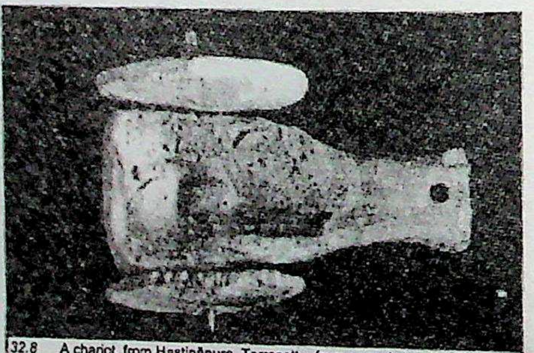

32.8 A chariot, from Hastināpura. Terracotta, from an early level of Period IV (early 2nd cent. BC to late 3rd cent. AD).

Photograph after Lal 1954-1955:pl. 48.

SAṀJÑĀ AND *PARIBHĀṢĀ* - A RELATIVE STUDY ON THE BASIS OF THE *SIDDHĀNTAKAUMUDĪ*

SUDESHNA BHATTACHARYA*

Pāṇini is regarded as the most calculative and innovative grammarian in the world of the structural construction of grammatical issues. In his *Aṣṭādhyāyī,* Pāṇini has followed his own norm and style in arranging the huge number of *sūtras* related to the grammar of the Sanskrit language prevalent in the society of that time. It is clear from the *sūtras* of the grammar of Pāṇini that in the case of Pāṇinian aphorisms, some technical devices related to grammar are indispensable in extracting the actual meaning of the *sūtras* because Pāṇini, in no way wanted to break his style of brevity and conciseness throughout the whole course of his *sūtra-* work. This gave a chance to other grammarians to think on the placement of Paninian aphorisms in a different way. As a result, latter grammarians of Paninian School came up with their new style of arrangement of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini in their respective works. Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita is a prominent name among the group and his *Siddhāntakaumudī* is known to be a systematically arranged work on Pāṇinian *sūtras* because here, Bhaṭṭoji has arranged the *sūtras* of Pāṇini on the basis of some common subject matter with a definite heading as the title of the particular portion. Thus a chapter in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* is known as *Prakaraṇa* and the first two chapters are named as the *Saṁjñāprakaraṇa* and the *Paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* where Bhaṭṭoji has dealt with the *saṁjñāsuītra* and the *paribhāṣāsūtra* respectively found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* But the important point to be noted here is that Bhaṭṭoji has neither collected all the *saṁjñāsūtras* of Pāṇini in the *Saṁjñāprakaraṇa* nor he has adjusted all the *paribhāṣāsūtras* of Pāṇini in the *Paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī.* He has rather enlisted various *saṁjñāsūtras* in different context and also he has placed many *paribhāṣāsūtras* in different chapters other than the *Paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī.* This point arouses some queries on the scheme of *saṁjñā* and *paribhāṣā* established by Bhaṭṭoji in the *Siddhāntakaumudī.* *Saṁjñā* and *Paribhāṣā* are the two technical terms unanimously used by the grammarians to denote the first two categories of *sūtras* of Pāṇini from the group of six viz. *saṁjñā, paribhāṣā, vidhi, niyama, atideśa* and *adhikāra.* Actually, the *saṁjñāsūtras* and *paribhāṣāsūtras* show the base on which the activation of the operational norms of Sanskrit

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 93-100.

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grammar are constructed by Pāṇini. So without the knowledge of those two types of *sūtras* one cannot grasp the proper meaning of the Paninian aphorisms. Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita has also supported this view by placing these two categories of *sūtras* in the initial chapters of his book. But he has established his own idea by inserting some *paribhāṣāsūtras* in the *Saṁjnāprakaraṇa* and by placing some *saṁjñāsūtras* in other chapters of his *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

The aim of this proposed paper is to establish the cause of such placement of *sūtras* undertaken by Bhaṭṭoji as well as to throw light on Bhaṭṭoji's idea of *saṁjñā* and *paribhāṣā* reflected in his *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

The terms '*saṁjñā*' and '*paribhāṣā* signify the two types of *sūtras* of Sanskrit Grammar which display the existence of six types of aphorisms altogether[1]. In connection with the wide *sutra* work of Pāṇini also, these two terms bear the same significance and are technically used to mean the *saṁjñāsūtra* and *paribhāṣāsūtra* respectively composed by Pāṇini in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Though in comparison to the huge number[2] of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the volume of these two types of *sūtras* seems to be very little, they play a great role in understanding the meaning of various Paninian rules as well as the process of application of other types of *sūtras* as well. Thus, the world of Pāṇinian Grammar cannot be explored without the help of these two types of *sūtras* found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The word *saṁjñā* has originated from the root *jñā* (to know) with prefix-*saṁ*-attached before it. The *upasarga*-'*saṁ*' is generally used to denote propriety or perfection. In the *Nirukta*, though the *upasarga* '*saṁ*' is stated to mean combination (*ekībhāva*)[3], the same is used according to Durgācārya in the very first line of the *Nirukta* itself to mean 'properly' or with proper decorum[4]. So the word '*saṁjñā*' etymologically means knowing a thing exhaustively in the proper manner. In general, the world *saṁjñā* means just the utterance of a name - *nāmamātra-kathanaṁ*. The dictionary speaks the meaning of the word '*saṁjñā*' as a short wording to convey ample sense or a term to know the general nature of things[5]. Thus a *saṁjñā* can provide the exhaustive and complete idea of a particular concept or thing within a fixed boundary of knowledge. In the field of Sanskrit Grammar also the term '*saṁjñā*' is used to denote the technical terms and the word '*saṁjñāsūtra*' signifies those aphorisms which speak of the meaning of the terms used in the field of Sanskrit Grammar for a definite purpose. In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Pāṇini has used the term '*saṁjñā*' more than once[6] in connection with different *sūtras*. Moreover, he has used nearly 100 technical terms in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. There is still controversy going on the point that whether all the technical terms used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are Pāṇini's creation or not[7]. This is completely a different field of study and can not come within the scope of this paper. Among these technical terms used by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, some are totally artificial whereas some bear a definite meaning. The artificial *saṁjñās* like *it*, *ghu* etc. are merely conventional and they do not possess any meaning connotatively. But the meaningful *saṁjñās* like *anunāsika*, *savarṇa* etc. are constructed on the basis of a particular sense carried out by the etymological derivation of the term concerned. The artificial *saṁjñās* have their jurisdiction only in the particular grammar where they have been used, whereas, the *saṁjñās* possessing a derivative meaning are generally used by the grammarians almost unanimously in their respective works on grammar.

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[1] *saṁjñā ca paribhāṣā ca vidhirniyama eva ca.*
atideśo'dhikāraśca ṣaḍvidhaṁ sūtralakṣaṇaṁ.

[2] about 4 thousand, according to *Kāśikā*, it is 3997

[3] *samityekībhāvaṁ-Nirukta* 1.4.18; p.28

[4] *samabhyasyate maryādayā (paripāṭyā) ayamiti samāmnāyaḥ* (Durgācārya on the statement '*samāmnāyaḥ samāmnātaḥ*).

[5] *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*. p.375.

The second type of *sūtra* taken up for discussion here is *paribhāṣā*. Though the word '*paribhāṣā*' is not used by Pāṇini anywhere in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it has become an integral part in the understanding process of Paninian aphorisms. The term *paribhāṣā* has originated from the root '*bhāṣ*' (to speak) with *upasarga* '*pari*' attached before it. The *upasarga pari* refers, 'all encompassing'. In the *Nirukta*, Yāskācārya has mentioned clearly that *upasarga* '*pari*' means *sarvatobhāvaṁ*[8]. So the word *paribhāṣā* literary means a statement having an all-encompassing effect[9].

In the world of Sanskrit Grammar, the word *paribhāṣā* implies the authoritative statements which are regarded as the path showing rules of grammar used for excavating the actual meaning of the operational rules and also for removing the ambiguity arising due to the confusion in case of using various rules of grammar. So, they can be easily called the meta-rules or the rules over the rules of Pāṇinian Grammar. According to Padmanābhadatta, the relevant cohesive statement of the teachers can be termed as

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[6] *svaṁ rūpaṁ śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā* (1.1.68), *anyapadārthe ca saṁjñā* (2.1.21), *tadaśiṣyaṁ saṁjñāpramāṇatvāt* (1.2.53) etc. *astanahsaṁjñāyāṁ* (6.3.125),

[7] The *mahāsaṁjñās* are also borrowed by Pāṇini from his predecessors. *Pāṇini : His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, Theodor Goldstucker, p. 125.

[8] *parīti sarvatobhāvaṁ-Nirukta* 1.4.20, p.28.

[9] *parito vyāpṛtāṁ bhāṣāṁ paribhāṣāṁ pracakṣate, Mahābhāṣya- Pradīpodyota* (2.1.1.)

paribhāṣā[10]. Puruṣottama, while discussing the *sūtra iko guṇavṛddhī* (1.1.3) says that statements which are beneficial to the whole *śāstra* (Grammar) can be termed as *paribhāṣā*[11]. In the *Dictionary,* the term *paribhāṣā* is explained as an authoritative statement or dictum, helping (i) the correct interpretation of the rules of Grammar or (ii) the removal of conflict between two rules which occur simultaneously in the process of the formation of words (*padasiddhi*), or (iii) the formation of correct words[12]. In the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patanjali has clearly distinguished the concept of *paribhāṣā* from that of *adhikārasūtra*. According to him a *paribhāṣā* puts light on a board area being present in one place. So these are compared to a lamp that highlights the objects remaining in the surrounding area[13]. The important point to be noted here is that the concept of application of *paribhāṣā* was not coined by Pāṇini himself. The custom of applying the *paribhāṣās*, rather came into existence, from the practical experiences in day to day life. Scholars of various fields of study, from their own experience, arrive at different types of judgments after examining their own work and most of these judgments or conclusions are recognized as almost eternal by successive supporters so long as any documentary proof against the rules is not found. Thus, *paribhāṣās* have an age-old tradition of application right from the days of *Prātiśākhyas*[14] up to the modern era. *Paribhāṣās* in Sanskrit Grammar are mainly of two types viz. those which are directly mentioned by Pāṇini in the shape of *sūtras* and those which though are not directly mentioned by Pāṇini himself, yet, are deduced from the process of application of the *sūtras* constructed by him. Thus, in general, three types of *paribhāṣās* arise in the grammatical field of Sanskrit language viz (i) *vācanikī*-which are actually stated by Pāṇini and others (ii) *jñāpakasiddhā*- which are suggested or implied by the *sūtras* of Pāṇini and (iii) *nyāyasiddhā* or *nyāyamūla*-which are established through the common experience in various occasions.

Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita has composed his famous work *Siddhāntakaumudī* with the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* and the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* as its first and second chapter respectively. It is a well known fact that the *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* called *Siddhāntakaumudī* in short is written in *prakriyā* style, where the *sūtra* of Pāṇini are re-arranged under a topic- wise concept. So *saṁjñāprakaraṇa*, as its title announces, deals with the *saṁjñāsūtras* and *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* discusses the *paribhāṣāsūtras* of Pāṇini according to Bhaṭṭoji's order and placement. So, it is natural that a *sūtra* which is placed in the last chapter of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has been adjusted in the very first chapter of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*[15]. In the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* altogether thirty three (33) Pāṇinian *sūtras* are explained where the *sūtra halantyaṁ*[16] is discussed twice with two different types of analysis. In the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* again, only thirteen (13) Paninian *sūtras* are explained along with four additional *paribhāṣās*. Thus, in these two *prakaraṇas* altogether forty six (46) *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are dealt with by the famous grammarian Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita from his own angle of thought. But the most significant point to be mentioned here is that Bhaṭṭoji has not amalgamated all the *saṁjñāsūtras* of Pāṇini in the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, neither he has enlisted all the *paribhāṣasūtras* of Pāṇini in the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Rather, the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* appears to be a mixture of two types of *sūtras*.

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[10] *sā ca padārthavivecakācāryāṇāṁ yuktiyuktā vāk.*

[11] *pari sarvaśāstra-upayuktā vāṇī bhāṣā sā paribhāṣā.*

[12] *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, p.223

[13] *paribhāṣā punarekadeśasthā satī kṛtsnaṁ śāstramabhijvalayati, pradīpavat*- *Mahābhāṣya* on 2.1.1.

[14] *asāvamuṁ iti tad-bhāvaṁ uktaṁ yathāntaraṁ* (*Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya* 1.56) etc. *para ityuttaraḥ* (*Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* 1.30) etc.

As for example, the *sūtras svaṁ rūpaṁ śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā* (1.1.68) and *taparastatkālasya* (1.1.70) have an interpretative nature and many grammarians accepted these two as *paribhāṣāsūtras*. In connection with the sūtra, *svaṁ rūpaṁ śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā* the *Kāśikāvṛtti* speaks conspicuously that according to some grammarians, the concerned *sūtra* is a *paribhāṣā* which again is refuted by another group[17]. Again, while discussing the *sūtra taparastatkālasya*, the scholar Srisa Chandra Vasu clearly accepts the *sūtra* as an injunction[18]. He too, declares the *sūtra yenavidhistadantasya* (1.1.72) as a rule of interpretation[19] i.e. *paribhāṣā*. Besides these, the *sūtra pūrvatrāsiddhaṁ* (8.2.1.) is accepted by some of the grammarians as an *adhikāra* or governing rule[20]. This *sūtra* again has been clearly stated as a *paribhāṣā* rule or interpretative canon by the scholar Karunasindhu Das in his work '*Principal Paribhāṣā* in The Paninian School'[21]. This *sūtra* has been placed in the *Saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* by Bhaṭṭoijdīkṣita. Again many of the famous *paribhāṣāsūtras* of Pāṇini are not enlisted in the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. As for examples, the *sūtras* like *asiddhavadatrābhāt* (6.4.22), *anudāttaṁ padamekavarjaṁ* (6.1.158), *ādyudāttaśca* (3.1.3) etc. though clearly show their interpretative nature, are not adjusted in the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Naturally, this treatment of Pāṇinian *sūtra* done by Bhaṭṭoji in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* arouses queries in the minds of the reader of Sanskrit Grammar and this topic may offer a vast field of discussion. Now the *sūtra yena vidhistandantasya*, though according to Karunasindhu Das is regarded as a *paribhāṣāsūtra*, is accepted as a *saṁjñā* in the *Nyāsa*. Here, it is declared that no quality of *paribhāṣā* can be found in this *sūtra*[22]. Bhaṭṭoji also has followed the path of the *Nyāsa* and attached this *sūtra* in the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. So, it can be assumed that though an interpretative nature of this *sūtra* cannot be denied fully, Bhaṭṭoji has given priority to the conceptual analysis of the rule and he has clarified the meaning regarding the conception (*saṁjñā*) of *tadantavidhi* that arises out of the *vṛtti* of the concerned *sūtra*[23]. Again, the rule *svaṁ rūpaṁ śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā* says that in Grammar, all operations are done in connection with the meaning of the word except the case of technical term like '*ghu*', '*gha*' etc. where not the form, but, their meanings should be taken into consideration. Celebrated scholar Srisa Chandra Vasu has clearly mentioned that this rule should be considered as a rule of interpretation[24]. In the *Kātantraparibhāṣāsūtravṛtti* also this rule is regarded as *paribhāṣā*[25]. In the *Padamañjarī* too, the interpretative nature of this *sūtra* is conspicuously mentioned. Thus, the nature of the rule obviously indicates that it should be used as an interpretative aphorism, but, along with the interpretative nature, this rule also suggests a concept-the concept of form and meaning used in the field of grammatical operation. The rule *taparastatkālasya* suggests that if a letter has 't' after or before it, it should refer to the homogeneous sounds only that possess equal time of utterance. The commentary called *Prabhā*, on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. while dealing with this *sūtra*, clearly states that this rule is a *paribhāṣāsūtra*, because, it possesses the sign of interpreting a grammatical operation and thus it is applicable to the concerned periphery of grammatical process though it remains in a particular locus and for this reason it can be compared to the lamp kindled in the road[26]. Whatever may be the nature of this *sūtra*, it clearly declares a concept related to the homogeneous sound of same quantity i.e. the concept of *taparavarṇa*. Thus, this *sūtra* offers an idea of homogeneous sound of equal magnitude of time used in the process of pronunciation. Similarly, the *sūtra yena vidhistadantasya* offers an idea of *tadantagrahaṇa*. This *sūtra* is also called *grahaṇakaśāstra*[27]. The *sūtra, pūrvatrāsiddhaṁ* demonstrates broadly the concept of *asiddhatva* in Paninian Grammar. So, it can be needless to say that Bhaṭṭoji has charted these *sūtras* in the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* by focusing light on the concepts offered by the concerned *sūtras* in various directions. Again the *saṁjñāsūtras* like *karturīpsitatamaṁ karma (1.4.49), tinśit sārvadhātukaṁ (3.4.113)* etc. are not amalgamated in the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Thus, among almost eighty five *saṁjñās* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Bhaṭṭoji has discussed only twenty one in the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. The left out *saṁjñās* are adjusted in the relevant chapter like *kārakaprakaraṇa, bhvādiprakaraṇa* etc. This is probably because Bhaṭṭoji wanted to categorise those *saṁjñās* in the *saṁjñāprarkaraṇa* which are closely connected with the grammatical operation called euphonic combination and the other *saṁjñās* are adjusted along with the topic wise discussion in other places of the book *Siddhāntakaumudī*. This inference has a strong basis because in the first chapter of the *Prakriyākaumudī*, the style of which Bhaṭṭoji has followed in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, Rāmachandra took only a few of the *saṁjñāsūtras* of Pāṇini which were connected with *sandhi*. Moreover, Nāgeśa in his *Laghusabdenduśekhara* states it clearly that the *saṁjñāprakaraṇa* of the *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* has amalgamated only those *saṁjñāsūtras* of Pāṇini which have their utility in the process of *sandhi*[28].

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[15] *a.a.* (8.4)

[16] *hal iti sūtre'ntyamitsyāt*-the first *vṛtti* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* on the *sūtra halantyaṁ* (1.1.3) *upadeśe'ntyaṁ hal it syāt*-second *vṛtti* of the same *sūtra*.

[17] *Kāśikāvṛtti* on the *sūtra svaṁ rūpaṁ* etc. p.234.

[18] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, *p*.64

[19] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, p.65

[20] S.C. Vasu calls it an *adhikārasūtra* in his book *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* Vol.II, p.1532

[21] Appendix II, (*Interpretative Rules of Pāṇini* No. 26)

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[22] *idamapi saṁjñāsūtram, na tu paribhāṣā na hyatra niyamarūpatā paribhāṣādharmo vidyate, Kāśikāvṛtti*, p.251

[23]. *viśeṣaṇaṁ tadantasya saṁjña syāt svasya ca rūpasya* (Bhaṭṭoji's *vṛtti* on the *sūtrayena vidhi* etc.)

[24]. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, p.61

[25]. *Paribhāṣāsaṁgrahaḥ*, p.58

[26]. *idaṁ paribhāṣāsūtraṁ aniyame niyamakāriṇī paribhāṣā, krameṇa kāryavidhānasya cihnavatī. sā ca ekatra gṛhītasaṁbandhā sakalaṁ prakaraṇaṁ abhidvīpayati, veśmani pradīpavat, Pāṇinir Aṣṭādhyāyī* by Devendra Kr. Bidyaratna, p.12

In a similar way, we have found out that all the *paribhāṣāsūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are not placed in the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. This may be because Bhaṭṭoji has taken into consideration, in this chapter, only those *sūtras* which have a more general appeal than the concentrated topic value. It can openly be announced that the small volume of the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* can spread its reins of operation in understanding successfully the process of interpretation of Paninian *sūtras*. Though the number of Paninian aphorisms dealt in the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* of the *Siddhantakaumudi* is very small, it can touch a wide range of operational rule of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Moreover, Bhaṭṭoji, by separating the *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* from the other chapter of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, has shown the importance of *paribhāṣās* and thus he has established his prudence as well as the strength of observation as grammarian of Paninian school.

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[27] *uktaṁ prabhāvaṁ grahaṇakaśāstraṁ, Ibid.*

[28] *prathamādhyāyasthānāṁ sandhikāryopayoginīnāṁ saṁjñanāṁ prakaraṇamiti samāptamityarthaṁ - Laghuśabdenduśekhara.* p.54

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KĀLIDĀSA - CITATIONS IN THE *RASAKALIKĀ* OF RUDRABHAṬṬA

RABINDRA KUMAR PANDA*

Introduction

The collection and comprehension of Kālidāsa-citations scattered in the works of Sanskrit poeticians is a fascinating field of research for me. The popularity of Kālidāsa may best be seen from the writers on poetics, dramaturgy, anthologies and commentaries who quote profusely from his works. A systematic collection of all these citations and a critical review of some of the important points arising out of them is very necessary for a better understanding of Kālidāsa's creative art. Dr. Hari Chand Shastri did pioneering work in this direction in his *Kālidāsa E t L' Art Poétique De L' Inde (Alaṁkāra-śāstra)*, which formed his Doctoral Dissertation at the University of Paris in 1917. Hari Chand's work was supplemented by N.R. Subbanna who prepared a dissertation for M.Litt. Degree entitled *Kālidāsa citations in works of Poetics, Dramaturgy, Anthologies, Commentaries* etc. in the years 1964-1968. The citations collected in this work number 1063 as against the 400 collected by Hari Chand. In the present paper an attempt is made to trace 44 verses more from the *Rasakalikā* of Rudrabhaṭṭa, which are not included in the work of Subbanna. I have already published two papers[1] on this subject and the present one is the third in its sequel.

The *Rasakalikā* (RK)[2] of Rudrabhaṭṭa occupies an important place in the Indian aesthetic studies. Rudrabhaṭṭa gives an excellent exposition of the theory of *Rasa* and

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp.101-124.

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[1] a. Panda, Rabindra Kumar, A Study of Kālidāsa in the light of Siṁhabhūpāla's Quotations, *Harihara-Satadalam*, Acharya Dr. Harihara-Jha-Felicitation Committee, Puri, 2000, pp. 499-510

b. Panda, Rabindra Kumar, Kālidāsa-citations in the Kavikaustubha : An Apprisal, *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Vol. LIII, Nos. 1-4, pp. 39-53

[2] *Rasakalikā of Rudrabhaṭṭa*, Critically Edited by Kalpakam Sankaranarayanan, The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras, 1988

various problems connected with it, mainly following Dhananjaya's *Daśarūpaka* and its commentary by Dhanika, Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Rudraṭālaṅkāra*.

The RK contains 44 Kālidāsa - citations. 3 verses are from the *Meghadūta* (MD), 11 verses from the *Kumārasaṁbhava* (KS), 13 verses from the *Raghuvaṁśa* (RV), 9 verses from the *Vikramorvaśīyam* (VU), and 8 verses from the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (AS). There is no citation from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. The author of the RK has cited all these verses for some points which are significant from the point of dramaturgy. The verses are presented in the present paper in the order they appear in the original works of Kālidāsa. The English translations of the verses are also given for a comfortable understanding of the verses from C.R. Devdhar's works. An alphabetical index is also given at the end.

Since I have made use of Subbanna's work in which she has collected the explanatory passages from the original literary works, I have not consulted the original works and therefore references are given to the page numbers of this work. However, the page numbers of the original sources which are consulted by Subbanna are given in bracket for an easy acquisition of those sources by enthusiastic and critical readers. For further information one may consult the original work of Subbanna.

I. MEGHADŪTAM

1. मामाकाशप्रणिहितभुजं निर्दयाश्लेषहेतो -
    र्लब्धायास्ते कथमपि मया स्वप्नसंदर्शनेषु ।
पश्यन्तीनां न खलु बहुशो न स्थलीदेवतानां
    मुक्तास्थूलास्तरुकिसलयेष्वश्रुलेशाः पतन्ति ॥

(MD II-39/43; RK. p.58)

(Having found you in dreams with great trouble, I wonder with arms outstretched for a warm embrance. The woodland deities often see me distraught. Their tears, as big as pearls, drop copious in tender shoots of trees.)

This verse is cited by Bhoja twice in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* for *upāpaviparyaya, Kādācitko yathā* (Vol. IV, p. 685) and for *virohoddīpanam, Śarīrāmbhaceṣṭābhivyaktirūpaḥ; ceṣṭāyāṁ caturtho yathā* (Vol. IV, p. 711)[3]. But Rudrabhaṭṭa cites this verse for *svapna*, a *vyabhicāribhāva* and has shown a new significance. He defines[4] *svapna* as the state originating in sleep; breathing in and breathing out occur in this state.

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[3] Subbanna, N.R., *Kālidāsa Citations in Works of Poetics, Dramaturgy, Anthologies, Commentaries Etc.*, Meharchand Lachhmandas, Delhi, 1973, p. 212.

[4] स्वप्नो निद्रासमुत्पन्नः श्वासोच्छ्वासक्रियात्र च । RK. p.58

2. संक्षिप्येत क्षण इव कथं दीर्घयामा त्रियामा
सर्वावस्थास्वहरपि कथं मन्दमन्दातपं स्यात् ।
इत्थं चेतश्चटुलनयने दुर्लभप्रार्थनं मे
गाढोष्णाभिः कृतमशरणं तद्वियोगव्यथाभिः ॥

(MD II. 41/45; RK, p.75)

(Can I reduce night's three time-spans to a moment's space ? Or temper the day to curb its intense heat ? O tremulous-eyed, my mind, thus set on impossible ways, is helpless in intense agony from the pangs of separation).

No poetician, to the best of my knowledge, except Rudrabhaṭṭa has cited this verse for *viprayoga* which is the impossibility of remaining united on the part of two persons, though their minds are in unison and possessed of passion, because of dependence on others or because of the workings of fate.[5]

3. शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ
शेषान्मासान् गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलयित्वा ।
पश्चादावां विरहगुणितं तं तमात्माभिलाषं
निर्वेक्ष्यावः परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु क्षपासु ॥

(MD II. 47; RK, p.83)

(My curse must end when He with the horned bow (Lord Viṣṇu) rises from the serpent-bed beneath the sea. Abide these four months of the rainy season which remain, with closed eyes. Then at last we twain shall meet and enjoy every single one of our desires, nursed through separation, in the full moon autumn nights.)

This verse is cited by many poeticians. Bhaṭṭa Gopāla cites it in his *Kāvyaprakāśa-Vyākhyā-Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, (Pt. I, p.190) for *alaṁkāreṇālaṁkārā yathā. ....virodhālaṅkāreṇa ....viśeṣoktiḥ vyajyate.* The author of *Sāhityamīmāṁsā* cites the verse for *Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra* (p.60). Bhoja cites this verse in *Śṛngaraprakāsa* seven times for (a) *atha atho yāvat tāvat anu punaḥ bhūya ityadhikārārthā: yathā* (p. Vol.I, p.13); (b) *anyokticchāyā yathā* (Vol. II, p. 275); (c) *uddīpanavibhāvaḥ - sandeśo yathā* (Vol. III, p. 206); (d) *vyāviddham. Tatra prakṛtyārtho yathā,* Vol. IV, p. 412; (e) *pravāsabheda-sāmānya bheda-sopasaṁhāro yathā* (Vol. IV, P.660); (f) *sandesadāna - saukhārto yathā* (Vol. IV, p. 720) (g) *pravāsānantaraṁ bhujiravyavahārārthaḥ upasargaḥ sampūrṇārthaḥ yathā ca* (Vol. IV, P. 796)[6]

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[5] विप्रयोगोऽनुरागेऽपि युनोरेकमनस्कयोः ।
पारतन्त्र्येण दैवेन विप्रकर्षादसङ्गमः ॥ RK p.75

[6] *Subbanna,* N.R., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 213-214

But Rudra cites it for *pravāsa* caused by curse. The separation due to absence (*pravāsa*) is when the lovers being at different places owing to business (*kāryataḥ*), confusion (*sambhrama*) or a curse (*śāpa*). In such a case there is weeping, sighing, (bodily) emaciation, letting the curls hang down and the like[7].

II. KUMĀRASAṀBHAVAM

4, उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं
सूर्यांशुभिर्भिन्नमिवारविन्दम् ।
बभूव तस्याश्चतुरस्रशोभि
वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनेन ॥

(KS I.32, RK p.17-18)

(Here body, as revealed by youth, was like a painting, developed with a brush, or like a lotus, blooming into life at the touch of the rays of the sun, looked beautiful, perfect in all limbs.)

No poetician expect Rudra cites this verse for *Saṁlakṣya-yauvanatvam* of *Madhyā - nāyikā* (Partly experienced) - whose youthfulness is quite evident.[8]

5. मधु द्विरेफः कुसुमैकपात्रे
पपौ प्रियां स्वामनुवर्तमानः ।
शृङ्गेण संस्पर्शनिमीलिताक्षी
मृगीमकण्डूयत कृष्णसारः ॥

(KS II - 36; RK. pp.88-89)

(The bee, following his mate, drank wine from the same flower-cup; and the black antelope scratched with his horns his mate who had her eyes closed by the pleasure of the touch.)

Siṁhabhūpāla cites this verse in his *Rasārṇavasudhākara* for *rasābhāsaṣtiryagrāgāt* (p.205). Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* cites it four times for (a) *laksaṇā-rūḍhalakṣaṇā. Lakṣitalakṣaṇāpi soḍhaiva. Dvirepho bhramara iti yathā.* (Vol. II, p.12) (b) *Sambhogaśṛṅgāra.*

Saiṣā pālanakanṭilyābhyavahārānubhūtibhiḥ darśitā kālidāsena premasaṁsthana paddhatiḥ. (Vol. IV. pp. 785-94) (c) as given in b (Vol. IV, p. 907) (d) *Sattā, abhivyakti, anubandhaḥ, prakarṣaḥ sa sarvópi dvividhaḥ sāmānyarūpo viśeṣarupaśca. Sāmānyarūpaḥ*

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7. कार्यतः संभ्रमाच्छापात् प्रवासो भिन्नदेशता ।
द्वयोस्तत्राश्रुनिश्वासकार्श्यलम्बालकादयः ॥ RK p.83

8. मध्या संलक्ष्ययौवना । *Ibid*, p.16

paśumṛgādīnāṁ yathā Vol. IV, p.903). Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita* cites it for *prāṇidharmavarṇanam* (only second line). Someśvara Bhaṭṭa cites only the first line for *sambhogābhāsaḥ tiraścoḥ* in his *Kāvyaprakāsá-vyākhyā-kāvyādarśa.* (p. 57).[9] But Rudra cites this verse for *Rasābhāsa*[10] *(tiryagāśrita* (love is portrayed in animals, birds or in an out cast).

6. हरस्तु किंचित् परिलुप्तधैर्य-
श्चन्द्रोदयारम्भ इवाम्बुराशिः ।
उमामुखे बिम्बफलाधरोष्ठे
व्यापारयामास विलोचनानि ॥
(KS-III, 67; RK. p. 67)

(Hara lost a little bit his firmness like the ocean at moon-rise, and directed his glance towards Umā's mouth with its Bimbalike lips.)

Abhinavagupta cites this verse in his *Abhinavabhāratī* (Vol.1, p.279), but the point for which he cites is not clear.

Rājaśekhara cites it in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* for *Kathāpuruṣavyavahāraḥ.* Siṁhabhūpāla cites in the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* for *rati - rasena, Saṁbhāvitasya rasasyaiva vibhāvatvaṁ biṁbaphalādharoṣṭha iti padena vyajyate.* (p.148). The author of *Sāhitya- mīmāṁsā* cites twice for (a) *aṣṭau sthāyino rasahetavaḥ. Ratiryathā* (p.55) and for *rasaṁ vināpi ratyādestatra tatra upalakṣaṇam* (p.80).

Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakaśa* cites this verse twice for (a) *ekasyāpi rasasya bhāvarasatadābhāsādayo....... avasthāḥ samupalabhyante. Tatra bhāvo yathā* (Vol. II, p.386). and for *ratiḥ - rūpe jātā yathā* (Vol. III, p.17).[11] Rudra cites it for *bījam* - a stage in the process of the development of *rasa. Vija*[12] is a state *(bhāva)* brought about two stages, viz. *cakṣuḥprīti* and *manaḥsaṅga.*

7. हृदये वससीति मत्प्रियं
यदवोचस्तदवैमि कैतवम् ।
उपचारपथं न चेदिदं
त्वमनङ्गः कथमक्षता रतिः ॥
(KS. IV, 9; RK. p.84)

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[9] Subbanna, N.R., *Op. cit.*, pp. 80-81

[10] एकत्रैवानुरागश्चेत् तिर्यङ्म्लेच्छगतोऽपि वा ।
योषितो बहुसक्तिश्चेद् रसाभासस्त्रिधा मतः ॥ RK. p. 88

[11] Subbanna, N.R., *Op. cit.*, pp. 84-85

[12] एतदवस्थाद्वयसंपन्नो भावो बीजमुच्यते । RK. p. 67

(That thou didst say, "thou livest in my heart", words agreeable to me, I understand to be mere deceitful cunning. Had it not been merely complimentary how is it that thou art bodiless and Rati scatheless.)

Abhinava cites it for *ratipralāpeṣu ca śṛṅgāra eva karuṇasya jīvitam (Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. I, p. 297). Bhoja cites it twice (a) for *vividhaṁ yathā* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāsa* Vol. IV, p.417), and *pralāpa* - one of the 80 *anubhāvas* of the *pratimukha* (ibid, p.761). Kaliṅgarāya sūrya in his *Sūktiratnahāra* cites for *vīrapatnīpralāpa* (p. 168)[13].

Rudra cites it for *Karuṇa* caused by death. Tragedy (*Karuṇa*) is the loss of anyone of the two lovers without any hope of future union, and is of two kinds, due to death and apprehension of death[14]. *Karuṇa* that takes place due to death is illustrated in the above verse.

8. तीव्राभिषङ्गप्रभवेण वृत्तिं
 मोहेन संस्तम्भयतेन्द्रियाणाम् ।
अज्ञातभर्तृव्यसना मुहूर्तं
 कृतोपकारेव रतिर्बभूव ॥

(KS-III. 73; RK. p. 60)

(On Rati, the activity of whose senses was removed by the severe calamity, the swoon, that made here oblivious of her husband's death, seemed to confer an obligation for a while.)

Allarāja in his *Rasaratnapradīpikā* cites the verse for *moha-duḥkhāt-vyabhicāribhāva* (p.14). But Bhoja cites it thrice (a) *sarvendriyāstamayaḥ pra ....tasya jātā yathā* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa,* Vol. III, p.77) (b) *pratyādānaṁ - apratisiddhaṁ yathā* (*ibid,* Vol.IV, p.418), (c) *anubhāvaḥ - nirvahaṇe abhiṣaṅgābhivabo yathā* (*ibid,* p.754)[16]

Rudra cites it for *moha* (stapor) which is defined as losing consciousness due to the possession or recollection of fear, grief etc. In it there occur unconsciousness, dizziness, striking (against something), staggering, inability to see clearly and the like[17].

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[13] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.90

[14] द्वयोरन्यतरापायः सङ्गमाशाविवर्जितः ।
करुणः स द्विधा ज्ञेयो मृतेस्तच्छङ्कयापि वा ॥ RK. p. 83

[15] अयं तु शोकमिश्रः । एतयोरुभयोर्विभावानुभावानुप्रवेशः । RK. p. 84

[16] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.87

[17] मोहस्तु मूर्च्छनं भीतिदुःखावेशानुचिन्तनैः ।
तत्राज्ञानभ्रमाघातघूर्णतादर्शनादयः ॥ RK. pp. 59

9. एवं वादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी ।
लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती ॥ (KS. VI. 84; RK, p.63)

(As Nārada spoke thus, Pārvatī, standing by the side of her father, with her head hung low, counted petals of the lotus that graced her hand).

Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmī in his *Amarakośodghāṭana* cites this verse but he has not mentioned the point for which he has cited it. Amṛtānanda cites it in his *Alaṁkārasaṅgraha* for *anyā nāyikā* (p.28). Vardhamāna in his *Guṇaratnamahodadhi* cites it but he does not give the point. Bhaṭṭa Gopala in his *Kāvyaprakāśa-vyākhyā-Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* cites it twice for (a) *vyabhicāribhāvaḥ - evaṁvādini devarṣāvityatra lajjābhāvaḥ* (Pt. I, p.144) and (b) '*evaṁ......ityatra lajjāyāṁ vyajyamānāyāmadhomukhīti padam* (pt. I, p.176). Śrīdhara in his *Viveka* - a commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* cites it for *arthaśaktimūlasya vastudhvaneridamudāharaṇam, nāsaṁlakṣya kramavyaṅgyasya bhāvadhvaneḥ* (pt.I, p.105). Siṁhabhūpāla cites it for *utpati*- one of the four stages of *vyabhicārins;* the three others being *sandhi, śābalya,* and *śānti.* (*Rasārṇavasudhākara*, p.143). Allarāka in his *Rasaratnapradīpikā* cites it for *avahitthā* - one of the *vyabhicārins* (p.19). Bhoja also cites it for *avahitthā* but as an *anubandha* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. III, p.51)[18]. But Rudra cites it for *avahitthā* (dissimulation) which is the concealment of the (physical) change such as thrill and joy etc. due to bashfulness etc.[19]

10. पत्युः शिरश्चन्द्रकलामनेन
स्पृशेति सख्या परिहासपूर्वम् ।
सा रञ्जयित्वा चरणौ कृताशी-
र्माल्येन तां निर्वचनं जघान ॥

(KS VII. 19; RK. p.41)

(When her friend told here chaffingly "with this your foot strike the crest of the crescent moon", she made her friend paint her feet and receiving the blessings (of elders) was silently struck by her friend with a flower-wreath.)

This verse has been cited by many poeticians for many purposes. Rājaśekhara cites it for *nibandhe - ākhyānavān (Kāvyaprakāśa* p.48). The commentators of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* Someśvara, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, and Śrīdhara cite it but they do not give the reason. Rāmachandra and Guṇacandra cite it for *narma - vācā yathā. Agrāmya iṣṭajanāvarjanarūpo vāgveṣaceṣṭābhiḥ parihāso narma. vācā yathā* (*Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, p.140). Allarāja cites it for *vihṛtaṁ - lajjayā yathā* (*Rasaratnapradīpikā*, p.38). The *Sāhityamīmāṁsā* cites it for

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[18] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp.113-114

[19] अवहित्था तु लज्जादेर्हषाद्याकारगोपनम् । RK. p. 59

apoddhāraḥ - padārtha-samavārthaviśeṣasya, sarvanāmnā pṛthak pratyavamarśa (*na ? nāt*) *svaśabdenāvasthānamapoddhāraḥ* (p.113). Bhoja cites this verse five times for (a) *Śeṣaḥ.....tridhāuktādanyaḥ kārakevyónyaḥ, kārakāṇāmavivakṣā ca ....tayorādyā rājnâḥ puruṣo yathā* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Vol. I, p.368); (b) *apoddhāraḥ* - one of the 48 *vākyadharmas* (*ibid,* Vol. II, p.185); (c) *nāyikā - uttamānūḍhāpragalbhā* (*ibid,* Vol. III, p.121); (d) *śarīrārambha-vihṛtam, ibid,* p.222); (e) *Suhṛtparihāsa* - a condition of love (*ibid,* Vol. IV, p.547)[20].

Rudra cites it for *vihṛtam* (brashfulness) - a type of *ceṣṭā* which is speaking or doing what is proper to the occasion.[21]

11. आत्मानमालोक्य च शोभमान-
मादर्शबिम्बे स्तिमितायताक्षी ।
हरोपयाने त्वरिता बभूव
स्त्रीणां प्रियालोकफलो हि वेषः ॥

(KS, VII, 22; RK. p. 65)

(Seeing herself, appearing lovely in the mirror, with her long eyes steadfastly fixed, she became eager to meet Hara quickly; for a woman's dress receives its reward by being looked at by the loved one.)

No poetician expect Rudra cites the present verse for *autsukyam*. It is intolerance of the lapse of time. Others hold it as eagerness; in it (there occur) rights, haste, hurry, pangs of the heart, perspiration and confusion.[22]

12. प्रसाधिकालम्बितमग्रपाद-
माक्षिप्य काचिद् द्रवरागमेव ।
उत्सृष्टलीलागतिरागवाक्षा-
दलक्तकाङ्कां पदवीं ततान ॥

(KS. VII. 58; RK. p.40)

(A certain damsel, withdrawing the toes of her feet from the hands of the female valet-de-chamber who had held them, traced, even while the paint was still wet on them and giving up her graceful gait, a line of foot-steps marked by the *Alaktaka* dye upto the window.)

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20. Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp.117-118
21. प्राप्तकालं च यद् ब्रूयात् कुर्याद्वा विहृतं हि तत् । RK. p. 41
22. कालाक्षमत्त्वमौत्सुक्यमुत्कण्ठेत्यपरे विदुः ।
तत्रोच्छ्वासत्त्वरावेगहृत्तापस्वेदविभ्रमाः ॥ *Ibid*, p. 64

Rudra cites the present verse for *kutūhalam*-(impetuority), a type of *ceṣṭā*. It is the excitement on seeing something beautiful[23].

13. व्याहृता प्रतिवचो न संदधे
गन्तुमैच्छदवलम्बितांशुका ।
सीदति स्म शयनं पराङ्मुखी
सा तथापि रतये पिनाकिनः ॥

(KS, VIII, 2; RK. p. 17)

(She would not respond when spoken to, and desired to go when her garment was snatched, and averted her face by turning sideways in the bed and yet filled the heart of Pinākin with love).

Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśana* cites it for *vākyārthatā sthāyino'pi kālidāsena darśitā* (pp.281-306)[24]. Rudra cites it for *lajjāvijitamanmathatvam* (a passion of love overpowered by bashfulness), a characteristics of *mugdhānāyikā*.

14. दष्टमुक्तमधरोष्ठमम्बिका
वेदनाविधूतपाणिपल्लवा ।
शीतलेन निरवर्तयत् क्षणं
मौलिचन्द्रशकलेन शूलिनः ॥

(KS. VIII. 18; RK p. 39)

(Ambikā waved her hands to wipe out the pain she suffered from the biting of her lips, after it was released and she wiped the pain, by the coolness of the crescent of the moon in Śiva's crest.)

Amṛtānanda cites this verse in his *Alaṁkārasaṁgraha* for *rasābhāsa* (p.91). Bhaṭṭa Gopāla in *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* remarks regarding this verse as *uttamadevatāviṣayā ratiḥ saṁbhogalakṣaṇā ratiḥ...........na varṇanīya yathā kumārasambhave 'dattamukta*...........(pt.II, p.147)[25].

But Rudra cites it for *kuṭṭamita* (pretended anger). It is uncontrolled feeling of happiness, even at the hard pressure of the lover in sexual dalliance[26].

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[23] कुतूहलं रम्यदृष्टौ चापलं परिकीर्तितम् । RK. p. 40

[24] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.121

[25] *Ibid*, p.124

[26] रत्यादौ प्रियमर्देऽपि सुखबुद्धिर्निरङ्कुशा । RK. p. 39

III. RAGHUVAṀŚAM

15. तदन्वये शुद्धिमति प्रसूतः शुद्धिमत्तरः ।
दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव ॥

(RV. I.12; RK. p.2)

(In his pure line was sprung Dilīpa who was purer still, who shone among kings like the Moon in the Milky sea.)

Someśvara cites this verse in his *Kāvyādarśa,* a commentary on *Kāvyaprakāśa* (only second line) for *śleṣasya viṣaye upamānam* (p.351). Mānikyacandra, another commentator of *Kāvyaprakaśa* cites (only second line) for *rājaśabdasyobhayārthatvena śleṣaniṣpattyā svārthasiddhau yadaupamya-kalpanaṁ tadadhikam. Aupamyaṁ hyārthameva hṛdyaṁ vyaṅgyatvānne śābdam.* (p.467). Bhoja cites for *anvaya - nāyaka's guṇa* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa,* Vol. III, p.343)[27].

Rudra cites it for *mahākulīnatā* - which means birth in great family[28].

16. स वेलावप्रवलया परखीकृतसागराम् ।

(RV. I. 30; RK. p. 3)

अनन्यशासनामुर्वीं शशासैकपुरीमिव ॥

(Earth, girdled by the rampart of its sea-beaches, and circled by its ocean fosse, he ruled unmatched, as if it had been a single town.)

Only Rudra cites this verse (only the first line) for *mahābhāgyam*[29].

17. स त्वं मदीयेन शरीरवृत्तिं देहेन निर्वर्तयितुं प्रसीद ।
दिनावसानोत्सुकबालवत्सा विसृज्यतां धेनुरियं महर्षेः ॥

(RV. II. 45; RK. 93)

(Do you, therefore, favour me by satisfying your hunger with my body; release this cow of the great sage, whose young calf is yearning for her at the end of day.)

Bhoja cites this verse for *dharmaniyamaḥ. Gobrāhmaṇārthe prāṇādiparityāgāt sagarvo yathā* (*Śṛṅgāraprakaśa,* Vol.l III, p.241).[30] Rudra cites the present verse for *dayāvīra*[31].

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[27] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.,* p.133

[28] महाकुलीनता नाम कुले महति संभवः । RK. p. 2

[29] विश्वंभराधिपत्यं यत् तन्महाभाग्यमुच्यते । *Ibid.* p. 3

[30] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.,* p.140

[31] यस्तु प्रतापविनयैरुत्साहः परिवर्धितः ।
गर्वस्कीतविकाराद्यैर्विभावैर्वीर इत्यपि ।
स त्रिविधः । युद्धवीरो दानवीरो दयावीरश्चेति । RK. p. 93

18. सुरेन्द्रमात्राश्रितगर्भगौरवात्
प्रयत्नमुक्तासनया गृहागतः ।
तयोपचाराञ्जलिखिन्नहस्तया
ननन्द पारिप्लवनेत्रया नृपः ॥
(RV. III-II; RK. p.61)

(And when the king went to her place, he was delighted with her, who with great effort rose from her seat on account of the heavy weight of her foetus which was entered into by the portions of the guardians of the spheres, and whose hands folded together to welcome him felt the fatigue (of that act) and whose eyes were tremulous.)

Rudra cites the above verse for *ālasyam*[32]. No other poetician has cited this verse.

19. युवा युगव्यायतबाहुरंसलः
कवाटवक्षाः परिणद्धकन्धरः ।
वपुः प्रकर्षादजयद् गुरुं रघु-
स्तथापि नीचैर्विनयाददृश्यत ॥
(RV. III. 34; RK. 4)

(Young, with arms long as the pole of the yoke, with stardy shoulders, with a chest broad as a door-panel and a full broad neck, Raghu was above his father by the excellence of his body, and yet through his modesty he looked smaller.)

Bhoja cites this verse for *tāruṇyāvatāro yauvanam* - a *viśeṣaguṇa* of *Dhirodātta.* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa,* Vol. III, p.311)[33]. Rudra cites the present verse for the same point but defines the concept in a different way[34].

20. कश्चित्कराभ्यामुपगूढनाल-
मालोलपत्राभिहतद्विरेफम् ।
रजोभिरन्तः परिवेषबन्धि
लीलारविन्दं भ्रमयांचकार ॥
(RV. VI, 13; RK. p.65)

(One, holding in his hands a beautiful lotus by its stalk, twirled it round and round so that its moving petals struck the bees, and the pollen formed a circle inside it.)

The author of the *Sāhityamīmāṁsā* cites this verse twice for (a) *cāpalam* - one of the *vyabhicāris.* (p. 57) and (b) *nipuṇam ceṣṭitam* (p.144). Bhoja cites it for *madhyamasya*

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[32] पराधीना प्रवृत्तिः स्यादालस्यं कृत्यवस्तुषु । RK. p. 61

[33] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.144

[34] मध्यमं तु वयो यत्तु यौवनं (हि) तदुच्यते । RK. p. 3

capalatā yathā - *bhāva* of an *Uddhata-nāyaka*. (*Sṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. III, p. 293)[35]. Rudra cites the present verse also for *cāpalam*. He gives a clear definition[36].

21. विस्रस्तमंसादपरो विलासी
रत्नानुविद्धाङ्गदकोटिलग्नम् ।
प्रालम्बमुत्कृष्य यथाप्रदेशं
निनाय साचीकृतचारुवक्त्रः ॥

(RV. VI. 14; RK. p.10)

(His handsome face turned askant, another gallant, extricating his flower-wove garland caught on the ends of his jewelled armlets as it slipped from his shoulder, now put it in its place.)

Rudra cites this verse for *vilāsa*[37]. No other poetician has cited it as far as my knowledge is concerned.

22. ततः सुनन्दावचनावसाने
लज्जां तनूकृत्य नरेन्द्रकन्या ।
दृष्ट्या प्रसादामलया कुमारं
प्रत्यग्रहीत् संवरणस्रजेव ॥

(RV. VI. 79/80; RK. p. 71)

(Then as Sunandā ceased, the royal maid dropped some of her coyness and accepted him by her glance bright with pure joy, as by the wedding - wreath that marks a bride's self-choice).

Only Bhoja cites this verse thrice for (a) *nāyikā-lalitā* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. III, p.341). (b) *Prakāśānurāga* - *svaṁvaraviṣaya* (*ibid*, p.371) (c) *nāyikābheda-kumārī Anūḍhā* (*ibid*, Vol. IV, p.821)[38]. Rudra cites the present verse for *lajjātyāga*.

23. विललाप सबाष्पगद्गदः
सहजामप्यपहाय धीरताम् ।
अभितप्तमयोऽपि मार्दवं
भजते कैव कथा शरीरिषु ॥

(RV. VIII. 43; RK. p.92)

(Even his inborn firmness broke and in tear-choked words he (deeply) mourned

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[35] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp. 151-152

[36] मात्सर्यद्वेषरागादेश्चापलं त्वनवस्थितिः । RK. p. 65

[37] प्रियसङ्गमकाले तु नेत्रभ्रूमुखकर्मणाम् ।
विशेषो यः स विज्ञेयो विलासोऽङ्गक्रियादिषु ॥ *Ibid*, p. 10

[38] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp. 158-159

(her): when even iron melts with intense heat, how much more must human beings ?)

Simhabhūpāla in his *Rasārṇavasudhākara* cites the present verse for *svarabhedaḥ - duḥkhena*- one of the 8 *sāttvikabhāvas* (p.93). But Bhoja cites it seven times for the following points (a) *kṣobha (tebhyastebhya uddīpanavibhāvebhya......*te te *vikārā upajāyante. Tatkṣobhe yathā. (Śṛṅgāraprakāśa,* Vol. II, p.383); (b) *Harṣādijanmavāksamgaḥ svarabhedaḥ. Anubandho yathā* (*Ibid,* Vol. III, p.49); (c) *madhyamasya svarabhedo yathā-bhāva* of an *Uddhata* (*Ibid,* Vol. III, p.296); (d) *Śokādibhiḥ vaiklavyam* - *guṇa* of a *Dhīralalita* (*Ibid,* p.305); (e) *Uttamasya svarabhedo yathā-bhāva* of a *Dhīralalita* (*Ibid,* p.324); (f) *pratyotpattikālaḥ - bhūtakālaḥ. lābhādivācyaḥ parokṣo yathā* (*Ibid,* Vol. IV, p.431; (g)) *Prakṛtikṛtaścaturdhā-dhīralalitāśrayo yathā* (*Ibid,* p.750)[39].

Rudra cites the present verse for *Karuṇa* caused by death. Here the natural memory, anxiety, swooning, illness, death etc. are the consequent states.[40]

24. तस्य प्रसह्य हृदयं किल शोकशङ्कुः
प्लक्षप्ररोह इव सौधतलं बिभेद ।
प्राणान्तहेतुमपि तं भिषजामसाध्यं
लाभं प्रियानुगमनं त्वरयानुमेने ॥
(RV. VIII. 91/93; RK. p.63)

(Sorrow's dart, they say, forcibly broke his heart, as a shoot of the big-tree does the palace top; and in his eagerness to join his beloved, he considered even that cause of the end of his life, which physicians could not cure, as a gain).

Only Bhoja cites this verse five times, for (a) *Śokānugama* (*Sṛṅgāraprakāśa,* Vol. III, p.73); (b) *madhyamasya stambho yathā-bhāva* of an *Uddhata* hero (*Ibid,* p.294); (c) *Sarvanāśe' pinānuśayaḥ-guṇa* of a *Dhīralalita* (*Ibid,* p.307); (d) *Madhyamasya vyādhiryathā-bhāva* of a *Dhiralalita* (*Ibid,* p.323); (e) *Śokāvego yathā* - one of the 80 *Anubhāvas* of the *Mukha* -stage (*Ibid,* Vol.IV, p.756)[41]. The interesting point to note is that Rudra cites the present verse for *vyādhi,* which is nicely defined by him[42].

25. तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकरभवे जह्नुकन्यासरय्वोः
देहत्यागादमरगणनालेख्यमासाद्य सद्यः ।
पूर्वाकाराधिकतररुचा सङ्गतः कान्तयासौ
लीलागारेष्वरमत पुनर्नन्दनाभ्यन्तरेषु ॥
(RV. VIII. 93/95; RK 85)

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39. Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.166
40. अत्र सात्विकस्मृतिचिन्तामूर्च्छाव्याधिमरणादयोऽनुभावाः । RK. p. 92
41. Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp. 170-171
42. विरहादेर्मनस्तापाज्ज्वरादिर्व्याधिरुच्यते । RK. p. 63

(Then having renounced his body at the holy place formed by the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Sarayu, and having immediately won a reckoning among the number of the immortals, he was united to his wife who was more beauteous than her former self, and joyed again in the pleasure-houses in the groves of Nandana.)

Abhinavagupta cites this verse for *sukavinā vākyabhedenāpi maraṇamākhyātam* (*Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. I, p.307). The author of *Sāhityamīmāṁsā* cites it for ....*ajaḥ paretāmindumatīṁ - mayā sā samgantuṁ śakyata ityabudhyata. etat parastāt prakaṭitaṁ - 'tirthe'*.......... (p.68). Bhoja cites this verse twice for (a) *Karuṇa-vipralambhaḥ - Kālāśrayaḥ-pretyasamgamo yathā* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. IV, p.738) and (b) *Śṛṅgārapuṣti* (*Ibid*, Vol. IV, p.900)[43].

Rudra cites the present verse for *maraṇāntaraḥ saṁbhoga.*

Here the *anubhāvas* like embraces are to be understood from *Kāmaśastra*[44].

26. रक्षसा मृगरूपेण वञ्चयित्वा स राघवौ ।
जहार सीतां पक्षीन्द्रप्रयासक्षणविघ्नितः ॥

(RV. XII. 43/53; RK. p.4)

(Deceiving the two princes of Raghu's race by a demon assuming the form of a deer, he bore away Sītā (although) obstructed for a moment by the exertion of the king of birds (to rescue her)).

Bhoja cites this verse thrice for (a) *vṛttyaṅga - saṁsphoṭa iti catvāri ārabhaṭṭyāṅgāni. Teṣu māyendrajālaśilpanaipathyadibhirvastu sa saṁkṣepassaṁkṣiptrakaḥ* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. II, p.478); (b) *buddhyārambhāḥ - vṛttiārabhaṭī - saṁkṣiptako yathā* (*Ibid*, Vol. III, p.217) (c) *samāgamopāyaḥ māyā yathā* - Love-condition (*Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 567)[45].

Rudra cites the present verse for *vidagdhatvam*[46].

27. श्लाघ्यस्त्यागोऽपि वैदेह्याः पत्युः प्राग्वंशवासिनः ।
अनन्यजानेः सैवासीद् यस्माज्जाया हिरण्मयी ॥

(RV. XV 61; RK. p. 11)

(The abandonment of Sītā was praiseworthy in a husband, - who occupied the Prāgvaṁśa hall of sacrifice, and he who had, no other wife, had the golden image of Śitā for wife and no other.)

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43. Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.171

44. तत्रालिङ्गनादयोऽनुभावाः कामतन्त्रादवसेयाः । RK. p. 85

45. Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp. 179-180

46. विदग्धत्वमिति ज्ञेयं प्रगल्भजनवञ्चनम् । RK. p. 4

Bhoja cites this verse four times (a) point is not given clearly (*Śṛṅgaraprakāśa*, Vol. II, p.163); (b) *ratiḥ-ābhimānīanuvartini yathā* (*Ibid*, Vol. III, p.22); (c) *akṛtrimānurāgaḥ-sahajaḥ-tatra ekaviṣayo yathā* (*Ibid*, p.378)[47].

Rudra cites the present verse for *anukūla-nāyaka*[48].

IV. VIKRAMORVAŚĪYAM

28. अस्याः सर्गविधौ प्रजापतिरभूच्चन्द्रो नु कान्तिप्रदः
शृङ्गैरैकरसः स्वयं नु मदनो मासो नु पुष्पाकरः ।
वेदाभ्यासजडः कथं नु विषयव्यावृत्तकौतुहलो
निर्मातुं प्रभवेन्मनोहरमिदं रूपं पुराणो मुनिः ॥
(VU. I. 10; RK. p. 32)

(Was the moon of lovely brightness her creator ? Or Madana himself who joys in love and love alone ? Or the vernal month ? For how could an aged anchorite who has grown dull through the study of the Vedas, and who has withdrawn himself from all worldly pleasures, fashion such a lovely form ?)

This verse is cited by many poeticians. Abhinavagupta cites this verse twice for *vilobhanam*, a *sandhyaṅga* (*Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. III, p.38) and for *proyogavaicitryam*. *Asyāssargavidhau.........ata eva prayogavaicitrayam* (*Ibid*, Vol. I, p.308). Śobhākaramitra in his *Alaṁkāraratnākara* cites it for *Sandehālaṁkāra* (p.44). Vāgbhaṭa cites it in *Kāvyānuśāsana* for *sasandehaḥ Kevalaḥ* (p. 39). Bhaṭṭa Gopala in his *Kāvyaprakāśa-vyākhyā-Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* for *atiśayokti-asambandhaḥ. Sambandhe bahirūhanīyo yathā-asyāssargavidhāvityādi* (Pt. II, p.309). Sāndhivigrahika Śrīdhara in his *Kāvyaprakaśa-Viveka* cites it for *atiśayokti* (Pt. II, p.362). Vallabhadeva in his *Subhāṣitāvali* cites it for *Strīvilokanam* (1467). Śārṅgadhara in his *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* cites it for *Bālavarṇanam* (3268). Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* cites it four times for (a) *vitarkaḥ nirṇayāntaḥ. bhāva atattvānupātī yathā* (Vol. II, p.313) (b) *vitarkaḥ prakarṣa yathā* (Vol. III, p.42) (c) *vitarko yathā* (Vol. III, p.314), (d) *vitarkaḥ-puruṣeṇānena* of a *Dhīralalita, madhyamasya ? bhavitavyamiti yathā* (Vol. IV, p.448) Kaliṅgarāya Sūrya in his *Sūktiratnahāra* cites this verse for *nāyikāpraśaṅsā* (p. 245). Vidyākara in his *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* cites it for *Yuvativarṇanam*. Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita* cites it twice (a) *Vastuvakratā - sahajā* and *āhārya* both skilfully combined here (p.140) (b) *Saṁkīrṇa* (p.219)[49]. Thus the verse is an important one and bears multiple significance.

But Rudra cites the present verse as an example of *Śṛṅgāre ālambanam*.

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47. Subbanna, N.R., *Op. cit.*, pp. 187-188
48. एकायत्तोऽनुकूलः स्यात् । RK. p. 11
49. Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp.40-41

29. एषा मनो मे प्रसभं शरीरात्
पितुः पदं मध्यममुत्पतन्ती ।
सुराङ्गना कर्षति खण्डिताग्रात्
सूत्रं मृणालादिव राजहंसी ॥
(VU I.20/18, RK, P.67)

(This nymph of heaven bears off my heart forcibly out of my body, as through the mid-region of her sire she flies; so flies the swan with a fibre from the lotus-stalk, the end of which is broken.)

Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* cites this verse thrice (a) *dhīralalitasādhāraṇānukūla* (Vol. III, p.102) (b) *dhīrodāttaguṇaḥ. uttameṣu utkaṇṭhā* (Vol. III, p. 253) (c) *uddhatasya bhāvaḥ. Madhyamasya yathā* (Vol. III, p.282)[50].

Rudra cites the present verse for *manaḥsaṅga*[51].

30. आदर्शनात् प्रविष्टा सा मे सुरलोकसुन्दरी हृदयम् ।
बाणेन मकरकेतोः कृतमार्गमवन्ध्यपातेन ॥
(VU, II.2; RK., p.15)

(Ever since I saw her, that celestial one has enthroned herself in my heart to which access was given to her by the unerring shafts of Love.)

Siṁhabhūpāla cites this verse in his *Rasārṇavasudhākara* for *nāyikā-sāmānyā-raktā. Sādhāraṇastrī gaṇikā kalāprāgalbhyaghāṣṭaryayuk* (p.29). Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakaśa* cites it for *guṇa* of a *dhīrodātta anukuleṣu ratiḥ* (Vol. III, p.252)[52].

Rudra cites this verse for *sāmānyānāyikā*[53] and goes with Siṁhabhūpāla[53]

31. हृदयमिषुभिः कामस्यान्तः सशल्यमिदं सदा
कथमुपलभे निद्रां स्वप्ने समागमकारिणीम् ।
न च सुवदनामालेख्येऽपि प्रियामसमाप्य तां
मम नयनयोरुद्बाष्पत्वं सखे न भविष्यति ॥
(VU. II. 10/11; RK, p. 69)

(For the shafts of love are ever rankling inside my breast; how then can I enjoy sleep which in dreams might effect our union ? And even before I have completed the picture of the beloved one with the lovely face, tears would surely not fail to start in my eyes.)

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[50] RK. p. 42

[51] इष्टैकायत्तचित्तत्वं मनसः सङ्ग उच्यते । *Ibid*, p. 67

[52] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.43

[53] सामान्यवनिता वेश्या कलाप्रागल्भ्यधौर्त्ययुक् ॥ RK. p. 15

Rudra cites the verse for *jāgara*[54]. To my knowledge, no other poetician has cited this verse.

32. अपराधी नामाहं प्रसीद रम्भोरु विरम संरम्भात् ।
सेव्यो जनः प्रकुपितः कथं नु दासो निरपराधः ॥

(VU - II. 21; RK, p.79)

(I confess my guilt; be pleased, O fair one. Curb your resentment; for when the master is angry it cannot be but that the servant is at fault.)

Rudra cites it for *sāma*[55]- which is defined as eulogical speech.

33. कुसुमशयनं न प्रत्यग्रं न चन्द्रमरीचयो
न च मलयजं सर्वाङ्गीणं न वा मणियष्टयः ।
मनसिजरुजं सा वा दिव्या ममालमपोहितुं
रहसि लघयेदारब्धा वा तदाश्रयिणी कथा ॥

(VU. III. 10; RK, p.70)

(Neither fresh flower-beds, nor the rays of the Moon, nor sandal-smearing all over the body nor jewel-necklaces will allay the pangs of Love; she alone- that woman divine can do it - Or sacret converse regarding her can mitigate (the suffering).

Rudra cites the above verse for *aratiḥ*[56]. To my knowledge, no other poetician has cited the above verse for any significant point.

34. पादास्त एव शशिनः सुखयन्ति गात्रं
बाणास्त एव मदनस्य मनोनुकूलाः ।
संरम्भरूक्षमिव सुन्दरि यद्यदासीत्
त्वत्सङ्गमेन मम तत्तदिहोपनीतम् ॥

(VU. III. 20; RK. p. 52)

(Those very moon-beams soothe my body, those very shafts of love are now agreeable to my mind; whatever, O fair one, was harsh (as if) through anger seems now to be reconciled to me through your union.)

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[54] जागरस्तु विनिद्रता । *Ibid*, p. 69

[55] तत्र चाटुवचः साम । *Ibid*, p. 79

[56] अरतिर्विषयान्तरे । *Ibid*, p. 70

Rudra cites the above verse for *dhṛti (iṣṭābhigamāt)*[57].

35. तिष्ठेत् कोपवशात् प्रभावपिहिता दीर्घं न सा कुप्यति
स्वर्गायोत्पतिता भवेन्मयि पुनर्भावार्द्रमस्या मनः ।
तां हर्तुं विबुधद्विषोऽपि न च मे शक्ताः पूरोवर्तिनीं
सा चात्यन्तमदर्शनं नयनयोर्यातेति कोऽयं विधिः ॥
(VU. IV. 6/2; RK. p. 83)

(Has she through her power remained invisible in anger ? But she will not be angry long. Has she flown up to the heavens ? But her heart yearns in ever fresh love for me. While even the foes of the immortals cannot wrest her, while in my presence. And yet she is quite invisible to mine eyes ! What fate is this ?)

Abhinava in his *Abhinavabhāratī* cites this verse twice for (a) *Saṁsaya - aparijñātatattvārthamityādi. Atrādyo bhāgaḥ saṁsayodāharaṇam, anantarastūpapattyadāhavaṇam* (Vol. II, p.313) and (b) for *upapatti* (Vol. II, p.318). Siṁhabhūpāla in his *Rasārṇavasudhākara* cites it for *pravāsaḥ - sambhramād. divyo yathā* (p. 188). Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita* cites it for *vipralambhaśṛṅgāra.* (*Vikramorvaśyāmunmattasya purūravasaḥ pralapitāni yathā,* p. 150)[58].

Rudra cites the above verse for *saṁbhrama* (*Pravāsa*)[59].

36. रतिखेदसुप्तमपि मां शयने या मन्यसे प्रवासगतम् ।
सा त्वमबले सहेथाः कथं मदीयं चिरवियोगम् ॥
(VU. IV. 7/41; RK, p.85)

(You who would regard me as gone away on a journey, when I would be merely sleeping, overcome by fatigue of love- dalliance, how could you (otherwise) bear long severence from me ?)

Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* cites this verse for *duḥkhādiparipraśna* (Vol. IV, p.88)[60] whearas Rudra cites, the present verse for *pravāsa,* one type of *saṁbhoga.*

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57. धृतिश्चित्तस्य नैस्पृह्यं ज्ञानाभीष्टागमादिभिः । *Ibid,* p. 51
58. Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.,* pp.47-48
59. a. कार्यतः संभमाच्छापात् प्रवासो भिन्नदेशता । RK. p. 81
    b. द्वितीयः सहसोत्पन्नः दिव्यमानुषविप्लवान्, *Ibid.*
60. Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.,* p.53

V. ABHIJÑĀNAŚĀKUNTALAM

37. सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यं
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।
इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् ॥

(AS I.18/20; RK, P.35)

(The lotus, though moss may overlay it, is nevertheless, beautiful; the spot on the moon, for all its darkness, heightens the charm of the moon; this slender (maiden) is more lovely even in her dress of bark: for what indeed is not an embellishment of sweet forms ?)

This verse is cited by many rhetoricians. Abhinavagupta cites this verse for *vicchitti*. Amṛtānanda for *mādhurya-nāyikālaṁkāra*. Sāndhivigrahika Śrīdhara in his *Kāvyaprakāsaviveka*, for *mādhurya*, Siṁhabhūpāla in his *Rasārnavasudhākara* for *prasiddhi - a vastubhūṣaṇa*, the author of the *Sāhityamīmāṁsā* for *slāghyatva*, Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakaśa* three times (a) for *gauṇī- guṇanimittā*, a kind of *śabdaśakti*. (b) *nāyikā - svakīyā*, and *uttamā*, (c) *svarūpānuvāda* - a kind of[61] *upadeśa*. Kuntaka quotes this for *dṛṣṭāntālaṅkāra* and *arthāntaranyāsālaṅkāra*. Rudra cites this verse for *mādhuryam*, type of *ceṣṭā* - a kind of *bhāva*. Sweetness is beauty even without ornaments[62].

38. असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा
यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।
सतां हि संदेहपदेषु वस्तुषु
प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥

(AS I.20, 19/22; RK, p.60)

(Surely, she cannot but be fit to be wedded to a kṣatriya, since my noble soul has longing towards her: for in matters beset with doubts, the promotings of the heart are to the good an authoritative guide.

This verse is cited by Amṛtānanda in his *Alaṁkārasaṅgraha* for *vicāra* - one of the *nāṭyālaṅkāras*, Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśana* for *Ārambha*, Bhoja in *Śṛṅgāraprakāsa* four times (a) for *Vitarka-Anugama* (one of the 48 *bhāvas*), (b) *dharma*, (c) manīṣā, one of the 64 *anurāgas* and (d) *pratyakṣānurāga*, and Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvita* for *arthāntaranyāsa-alaṅkāra*[63]. Rudra, however, cites this verse for *mati*[64] - a *vyabhicāribhāva*.

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[61] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp.5-7

[62] अभूषणेऽपि रम्यत्वं माधुर्यमिति गीयते । RK. p. 34

[63] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp.7-8

[64] नीतिमार्गानुसंधानादर्थनिर्धारणं मतिः । RK. p. 60

39. अनाघ्रातं पुष्पं किसलयमलूनं कररुहै-
रनाविद्धं रत्नं मधु नवमनास्वादितरसम् ।
अखण्डं पुण्यानां फलमिव च तद्रूपमनघं
न जाने भोक्तारं कमिह समुपस्थास्यति विधिः ॥

(AS. II. 10; RK. p.68)

(This immaculate beauty is like a flower not yet smelt, a delicate shoot not torn by the nails; an unperforated diamond; or fresh honey whose sweetness is yet untasted; or the full reward of meritorious deeds. I know not whom Destiny will approach as the enjoyer here (of this form).)

This verse has been cited by many poeticians. The author of the *Subhāṣitāvali* (1332) cites for विरहिणां प्रलाप whearas Śārṅgadhara in his *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (3271) quotes this for वयस्सन्धिवर्णनम् । The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja cites this verse six times for (a) रूपक - *Ubhayālaṅkāra* - व्यतिरेकवद्यथा (b) गुणानुवाद - one of the 64 *kāvyalakṣaṇas,* (c) नायिका-स्वकीया उत्तमा अनूढा (d) अनुभाव (*Buddhāramba*) रीतिः लाटीया-नात्युपचारवती (e) अभिलाषा (one of the 64 kinds of *Anurāga* (f) सम्भोगशृङ्गार- भुजे प्रयोगो दृश्यते श्रवणाद्यविशेषे[65]. Rudra cites it for *pratāpa*[66]. The commentator Navakishor Kar, the author of the *Kiśorakeli* accepts the verse as an example of *Gaṇakīrttana*[67].

40. जाने तपसो वीर्यं सा बाला परवतीति मे विदितम् ।
अलमस्मि ततो हृदयं तथापि नेदं निवर्तयितुम्* ॥

(AS. III. 2; RK. p. II)

(I know the power of penance: and I am further aware that the maiden is not her own mistress; and yet my heart can no more turn back from her, than water can from a slope.)

This verse is cited by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāsa,* Vol. III, p.253 for *dharmārtha kāmeṣu cintā - a guṇa* of a *Dhīrodātta nāyaka*[68].

Rudra cites it for *stirarāgitavam*[69] - (steady in love), a quality of a *śṛṅgāra-nāyaka* (the hero of the erotic type). It is interesting to note that the second line has a variant. The reading given by Rudra does not seem to be a good one.

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[65] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp.15-16

[66] प्रलापो गुणकीर्तनम् । RK. p. 68

[67] इह गुणसङ्कीर्त्तनं नाम नाट्यलक्षणं गुणानां कीर्त्तनं यत्तु तदेव गुणकीर्त्तनम्' इति दर्पणोक्तलक्षणात् । p. 60

* न च निम्मादिव सलिलं निवर्तते मे ततो हृदयम् ।

[68] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.19

[69] विलासवान् कलाशीलः सुभगः स्थिररागवान् । RK. p. 10

41. क्षामक्षामकपोलमाननमुरः काठिन्यमुक्तस्तनं
मध्यः क्लान्ततरः प्रकामविनतावंसौ छविः पाण्डुरा ।
शोच्या च प्रियदर्शना च मदनक्लिष्टेयमालक्ष्यते
पत्राणामिव शोषणेन मरुता स्पृष्टा लता माधवी ॥
(AŚ. III. 8/7; RK. pp.69-70)

(Her face has its cheeks excessively emaciated, her bosom has lost the firmness of its breasts; her waist is more slender (than before); her shoulders are very much drooping; her complexion is wan; thus formented by love, she appears both deplorable and charming, like the Mādhavī creeper when touched by the wind that dries up its leaves).

This verse is cited by Bhoja twice in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa,* (Vol. III, p.68) for (a) *glāni samparka*, one of the 48 *Bhāvas,* and (b) for *nāyikā - uttamādhīrānūḍhāpragalbhā* (Vol. III, p. 122)[70]. Rudra cites it for *kārśyam* (emaciation). It is becoming lean.[71]

42. सायन्तने सवनकर्मणीत्युपकम्य
(AŚ. III. 25; RK. p. 98)

(सायंतने सवनकर्मणि संप्रवृत्ते
वेदीं हुताशनवतीं परितः प्रकीर्णाः ।
छायाश्चरन्ति बहुधा भयमादधानाः
संध्यापयोदकपिशाः पिशिताशनानाम् ॥)

(As the evening sacrifice is commenced, the shadows of the flesh-eating demons, brown as evening clouds, and scattered around the blazing altar, are flitting about and creating terror in a variety of ways.)

Rudra cites the above verse for *nirodha* (*vīrādvirahāvaccheda*). But he cites the first line only. The complete verse is given here for reader's convenience.

43. रम्यं द्वेष्टि यथा पुरा प्रकृतिभिर्न प्रत्यहं सेव्यते
शय्याप्रान्तविवर्तनैर्विगमयत्युन्निद्र एव क्षपाः ।
दाक्षिण्येन ददाति वाचमुचितामन्तःपुरेभ्यो यदा
गोत्रेषु स्खलितस्तदा भवति च व्रीडाविलक्षश्चिरम् ॥
(AŚ VI. 5; RK. p. 70)

(He abhors everything pleasurable; he is not daily waited upon by his ministers as in former times; spends sleepless nights in tossing about on the edge of his bed and when by courtesy he addresses suitable words to the ladies of his place, he blunders in their names and becomes for a long while abashed with shame).

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[70] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.20

[71] शरीरकृशता कार्श्यम् । RK. p. 69

This verse is cited by Śrīdharadāsa in his *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (p.121) for *dakṣiṇanāyaka.* Jalhaṇa cites it in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* (p.146) for *viyogyāvasthā.* Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāsa,* (Vol. III p.88) cites for *dhīrodātta - dakṣiṇanāyaka*[72]. Rudra cites, however, the above verse for *arati* (absence of interest). It is (indifference) in other matters[73].

44. अस्मान् साधु विचिन्त्य संयमधनानुच्चैः कुलं चात्मन-
स्त्वय्यस्याः कथमप्यबान्धवकृतां स्नेहप्रवृत्तिं च ताम् ।
सामान्यप्रतिपत्तिपूर्वकमियं दारेषु दृश्या त्वया
भाग्याधीनमतः परं न खलु तद् वाच्यं वधूवन्धुभिः ।
(AŚ. IV. 17/15/16; RK. p. 53)

(Having well considered us as rich in devotion, thy own exalted birth and the free flow of affection of this (girl) towards thee, which arose in her without only interference of her kindred, look on her among thy wives with the same respect (kindness) which they experience: more than that depends upon the will be heaven, and should not indeed, be demanded by the bride's kinsfolk).

This verse is cited by the author of the *Sāhityamīmāṁsā* and Bhoja for *dainya,* a *vyabhicāribhāva*[74].

Rudra also cites the verse for the same. *Dainya* (depression) is due to loss of strength; it arises out of poverty[75].

Conclusion :

In the aforegoing pages I made an attempt to bring to light the points for which Rudrabhaṭṭa has cited fourtyfour verses from the works of Kālidāsa. I also tried to expose the points for which those verses are cited by other poeticians in their critical works. It is understood from the exposition that there are some verses which are not cited by any poetician except Rudrabhaṭṭa. In case of some verses, the points for which Rudrabhaṭṭa cites them, are new and worth appreciating. The learned author has also given good definitions to clarify the concepts. But, unlike Siṁhabhūpāla, the author of the

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[72] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, p.31

[73] अरतिर्विषयान्तरे । RK. p. 70

[74] Subbanna, N.R. *Op.cit.*, pp.25-26

[75] सत्त्वत्यागादनौजस्त्वं दैन्यं कार्पण्यसंभवम् । RK. p. 53

Rasārṇavasudhākara. Rudrabhaṭṭa does not give explanatory sentences focusing on the point. No doubt, Rudrabhaṭṭa is original and has his indepth understanding of the works of Kālidāsa. The study of the citations helps us in understanding the concepts of dramaturgy. They further enhance our understanding of the contents of the literary texts.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF KĀLIDĀSA-VERSES CITED IN THE RASAKALIKĀ

		Original Work	RK Page No.	Point for which cited
1.	अनाघ्रातं पुष्पं	AŚ. II. 10	68	प्रलापः
2.	अपराधी नामाहं	VU II. 21	79	सामः
3.	असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रह-	AŚ. I. 20	60	मतिः
4.	अस्मान् साधु विचिन्त्य	AŚ. IV. 17	53	दैन्यम्
5.	अस्याः सर्गविधौ	VU. I. 10	32	शृङ्गारे आलम्बनम्
6.	आत्मानमालोक्य	KS. VII. 22	65	औत्सुक्यम्
7.	अ(आ)दर्शनात् प्रविष्टा	VU. II. 2	15	सामान्या
8.	उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव	KS. I. 32	17-18	मध्यायाः संलक्ष्ययौवनत्वम्
9.	एवं वादिनि देवर्षौ	KS. VI. 84	63	अवहित्था
10.	एषा मनो मे	VU. I. 20	67	मनःसङ्गः
11.	कश्चित् कराभ्याम्	RV. VI. 13	65	चापलम्
12.	कुसुमशयनं न प्रत्यग्रं	VU. III. 10	70	अरतिः
13.	क्षामक्षामकपोल-	AS. III. 8	69-70	कार्श्यम्
14.	जाने तपसो वीर्यं	AS. III. 2	11	स्थिररागित्वम्
15.	ततः सुनन्दावचना	RV. VI. 79	71	लज्जात्यागः
16.	तदन्वये शुद्धिमति	RV. I. 12	2	महाकुलीनता
17.	तस्य प्रसह्य हृदयं	RV. VIII. 91	63	व्याधिः
18.	तिष्ठेत् कोपवशात्	VU. IV. 6	83	संभ्रमः
19.	तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकरभवे	RV. VIII.	85	मरणानन्तरः प्रवासः
20.	तीव्राभिषङ्गप्रभवेन	KS. III. 73	60	मोहः
21.	दष्टमुक्तमधरोष्ठ	KS. VIII. 18	39	कुट्टमितम्
22.	पत्युः शिरश्चन्द्रकला	KS› VII. 19	41	विहृतम्
23.	पादास्त एव शशिनः	VU. III. 20	52	धृतिः (इष्टाभिगमात्)

24.	प्रसाधिकालम्बित-	KS. VII. 58	40	कुतूहलम्
25.	मधुद्विरेफः कुसुमैकपात्रे	KS. III. 36	88-89	रसाभासः (तिर्यगाश्रिते)
26.	मामाकाशप्रणिहित-	MD. II. 39	58	स्वप्नः
27.	युवायुगव्यायत	RV. III. 34	4	यौवनम्
28.	रक्षसा मृगरूपेण	RV. XII. 43	4	विदग्धत्वम्
29.	रतिखेदसुप्तमपि	VU. IV. 72	85	प्रवासः
30.	रम्यं द्वेष्टि यथा	AS VI. 5	70	अरतिः
31.	विललाप सबाष्प	RV. VIII. 43	92	करुणः (मरणात्)
32.	विस्रस्तमंसादपरः	RV. VI. 14	10	विलासः
33.	व्याहृता प्रतिवचो	KS. VIII. 2	17	लज्जाविजितमन्मथत्वम्
34.	शापान्तो मे भुजगशयना	MD II. 47	83	प्रवासः (शापात्)
35.	श्लाघ्यस्त्यागोऽपि	RV. XV. 61	11	अनुकूलः
36.	स त्वं मदीयेन शरीर	RV. II. 45	93	दयावीरः
37.	संक्षिप्येत क्षण इव	MD II. 41	75	विप्रयोगः
38.	सरसिजमनुविद्धं	AS. III. 25	98	माधुर्यम्
39.	स वेलावप्रवलयां	RV. I. 30	3	महाभाग्यम्
40.	सायंतने सवनकर्मणि	AS. III. 25	98	निरोधः (वीराद्विरहावच्छेदः)
41.	सुरेन्द्रमात्राश्रितगर्भ-	RV. III. 11	61	आलस्यम्
42.	हरस्तु किंचित् परिलुप्त-	KS. III. 67	67	बीजम्
43.	हृदयमिषुभिः कामस्यान्तः	VU. II. 10	69	जागरः
44.	हृदये वसतीति मत्प्रियं	KS. IV. 9	84	करुणः (मरणम्)

SANSKRIT POETS AND A FEW CHALLENGES

VENEEMADHAVA-SHASTRI B. JOSHI*

Some challenges have exercised remarkable contribution to the development of Sanskrit literature in general and of the classical Sanskrit literature in particular. Sanskrit stood hard to the contemporary challenges and responded in a peculiar way to come over those problems in its usual way. In view of its rich vocabulary, scientific structure, full-fleged grammar, it is very easy for Sanskrit to face those problems. A thorough study of this language encourages the reader to find solutions at least to most of the contemporary challenges. The computer and coining the new words to the technical terms of English in the scientific field, are the two main challenges in these modern days to which Sanskrit is successfully responding.

Here, in this article, the word challenge is taken in another sense. The Sanskrit poets in view of the literary works of poets in the past, think of excelling those works by parading their brilliance in their new compositions with new facets of innovations. They took it as a challenge and tried hard to excel the works of predecessors. The tradition of *Samasyāpūrti*, compositions of various *Bandhas* like *Cakra, Mahāyamaka, Samudgaka, Sarvatobhadra, Ekākṣarī* etc. are good examples for a challenge to Sanskrit poets. This kind of tendency of excelling others by more beautifying their compositions, was found in the wake of a challange. Let us try to understand the scope of challenges.

In the peak years of the history of classical Sanskrit literature, we find this kind of tendency of excelling the predecessors among the great poets after Kālidāsa. The burning example is of Māgha. Māgha, the author of *Śiśupālavadha* tried his best to excel Bhāravi, the author of *Kirātārjunīyam* in all the peculiarities of his epic. The theme of *Kirātārjunīyam* grounds on the story of Śiva, whereas the story of *Māgha Kāvya* is based on that of Śrīkṛṣṇa, just to avoid the so-called censure of imitation. Bhāravi starts his epic with the word Śrī in the Vaṁśastha metre whereas Māgha too starts with the same. Bhāravi uses the word Lakṣmī in the last verse of each canto, and Māgha makes use of the word 'Śrī'

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp.125-133.

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at the closing verse of each canto.[1] The tenets of political-science are dealt with in the second canto of the *Kirātārjunīyam*. Māgha too, deals with the same in his second canto. Bhāravi composes various *Bandhas* of *Śabdālaṅkāra* like *Ekākṣarī, Dvyākṣarī, Sarvatobhadra, Samudgaka, Mahāyamaka* in a canto at the context of battle. Māgha too brings those *Bandhas,* more in number in the descriptions of battle. Long descriptions of mountain, seasons, sunset, sunrise, etc. are fairly found in *Kirātārjunīyam* and the same are brought by Māgha to succeed Bhāravi.[2] Thus, Māgha might have taken it as a challange to surpass Bhāravi in composing an epic.

Bhaṭṭi, the author of *Rāvaṇavadha,* took it as a challenge to compose his epic as if to illustrate the grammatical rules dealt with in the aphorisms of Pāṇini.[3] It is heard that Bhaṭṭi was teaching Pāṇini's grammar to his pupils when an elephant or some animal passed by in between the teacher and the taught. Hence, this procedure of *Anādhyāya* inspired him to write this epic as an illustrating work. This serves the purpose of a challenge.

At a later date, Sanskrit poets cherished their deep inclinations towards showing something new in their literary works. This tendency itself gave rise to a sense of challenge. The *Rāghava-paṇḍavīyam* by Kavirāja is full of pun. Every verse can be interpreted in favour of both the family members of Rāma and Pāṇḍavas. The poet took it as a challenge and composed this epic.

Ghaṭakarpara, the author of a short poem *Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya* of twenty two verses, declared an open challenge to poets who could surpass him in composing *Yamakas.* Further, he declared that he would supply water in a broken pot, to him who would compose better *Yamakas.*[4]

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[1] दिनकृतमिव लक्ष्मीस्त्वां समभ्येतु भूयः ॥ - किरा. १-४५
वि. वि. --- पुरः सुरसुनाविन्दोः श्रियं बिभ्रति ॥ माघ. शिशुपालवधम्, Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1972, Śl. 1 - 75

[2] Māgha describes the Raivataka-parvata in the whole of the canto as Bhāravi does the Indrakīla-parvata in a canto.

[3] दीपतुल्यः प्रबन्धोऽयं शब्दलक्षणचक्षुषाम् ।
हस्तादर्श इवान्धानां भवेद्व्याकरणादृते ॥ - रावणवधम् of भट्टि, Nirnayasagar Press, Mumbai, 1867, śl. 22-33

[4] भावानुरक्तवनितासुरतैः शपेय-
मालभ्य चाम्बु तृषितः करकोशपेयम् ।
जीयेय येन कविना यमकैः परेण
तस्मै वहेयमुदकं घटकर्परेण ॥ - घटकर्परकाव्यम् - Ed. Veneemadhava Shastri Joshi with commentary of Abhinavagupta, Mahatee Publications, Sadhana Keri, Dharawad 2004, Śl. 22

Among the writers of *Campūkāvya,* Ananta Bhaṭṭa, the author of *Campūbhārata,* is said to have taken a vow to exceed Navakālidāsa, the author of *Bhāgavatacampū* by composing another *Bhāgavatacampū.* This he took as a challenge and composed *Bhāgavatacampū* and *Bhāratacampū.*[5]

Among the dramatists, Śrīharṣa and Bhavabhūti wrote three dramas, just to surpass Kālidāsa who had written three dramas. While composing these dramas, they might have cherished a sense of challenge in their heart of heart to surpass the dramas of Kālidāsa. Bhavabhūti declares that he has not written his drama i.e. *Mālatīmādhava* for those critics who would try to find faults with it. He openly declares that he wrote it for that person who is similar to himself to appreciate his drama on this earth today or tomorrow in this endless space and time[6]. This statement of Bhavabhūti is in the wake of challenge. Another sense of challenge is also suggested by his words when he says- "Sarasvatī is following me like an obidient wife.[7] In other words, he was pronouncing a challenge that he would write any kind of piece of poetry in Sanskrit.

Jagannātha, a renowned lyricist, openly declares that none but Dillīśvara on the earth is capable of fulfilling his desires.[8] He also announces with a sense of challenge that he would not quote others verses as examples in his rhetoric treatise i.e.

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[5] The *Bhāgavatacampū* of Ananta Bhaṭṭa is not at all found so far. Nor even any source for his statement of challenge is traced. It is found only in tradition.

Cp. Ananta Bhaṭṭa is according to tradition, a rival of Abhinava Kālidāsa who wrote *Bhāgavatacampū* to vie with his work. Ananta composed a *Bhāgavatacampū* himself and *Bhāratacampū.*

- *Krishnamachariyar. A History of Sanskrit literature* - Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1970, p.511.

[6] ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यते तु मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥ - मालतीमाधवम् , ed. M.R. Kale, Oriental Publication Comany I/6, Bombay, 1913.

[7] यं ब्रह्माणमियं देवी वाग्वश्येवानुवर्तते । - उत्तररामचरितम् - ed. M.R. Kale, Nirnaya Sagar, Girgawn- 1929, 1/2, p.4.

[8] दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।
अन्येन केनापि नृपेण दत्तं शाकाय वा स्यात् लवणाय वा स्यात् ॥ -Quoted by Shri Raadhesyaam Mishra, Intro. *Bhāminī Vilāsa,* Chaukhamba - Varanasi, 1966, p.20

Rasagaṅgādhara.[9]

In the *Gaṅgālaharī,* Jagannātha speaks with a challenging word that his devotion to Goddess Gaṅgādevī is bereft of any selfish motive. He styles his devotion in swearing words.[10] Thus, we have good many instances of Sanskrit poets with similar challenges.

The method of *Samasyāpūrti* is a peculiar kind of challenge to poets. One line (a foot of a verse), usually the last line, is given and a poet has to compose the remaining three feet of that verse. The *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballālasena[11] is a peculiar work in which we have a number of examples for *Samasyāpūrtis.* The king once beheld a woman, devoutly serving her husband, and her child slowly started crawling towards the fire. She immediately cast her imploring glance at the Fire God and requested him not to burn her child. Consequently, the child started playing freely with fire without being burnt by it. The king was taken aback by this and anounced one line as हुताशनश्चन्दनपङ्कशीतलः in his court the next morning. It was Kālidāsa who composed the remaining three lines as follows:

सुतं पतन्तं प्रसमीक्ष्य पावके
न बोधयामास पतिं पतिव्रता ।
तदाभवत्तत्पतिभक्तिगौरवात्
हुताशनश्चन्दनपङ्कशीतलः ॥ (भो. प्र)

On another occasion when the king was taking his bath, a lady was carrying a golden pot full of water, but, it slipped away when she lost herself in beholding the handsome king and the pot, while rolling down from the staircase, resounded like- टाटं टटं टं टटटं टटं टम् । The king gave the same line as a *Samasyā*[12] for poets and Kālidāsa composed the verse as follows -

राजाभिषेके मदविह्वलायाः
हस्ताच्च्युतो हेमघटो युवत्याः ।
सोपानमार्गे प्रकरोति शब्दं
टाटं टटं टं टटटं टटं टम् ॥ (भो प्र. Śl - 317)

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[9] निर्माय नूतनमुदाहरणानुरूपं काव्यं मयात्र निहितं न परस्य किञ्चित् । - रसगङ्गाधरम् - Kavyamala - 12, 1894, I/6.

[10] शपे तुभ्यं मातर्मम तु पुनरात्मा सुरधुनि ।
स्वभावादेव त्वय्यमितमनुरागं विधृतवान् ॥ - गङ्गालहरी, Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1972, Śl - 34

[11] भोजप्रबन्ध of बल्लालसेन, Chaukhamba, Varanasi, Śl.292, p.150

[12] Number of sentences are given as *Samasyā.*
क्रियासिद्धिः सत्त्वे भवति महतां नोपकरणे । चन्द्रं गतो मानवः ।
नन्दाम निन्दाम वा । पिपीलिका चुम्बति चन्द्रबिम्बम् । इत्यादीनि वाक्यानि ।

Thus, this system of *Samasyāpūrti* is a silent challenge to poets.

In the field of Śāstric compositions, one scholar is refuting the views of others and tries to declare with all the emphasis at his command that his views are correct ones. Śrīharṣa in view of the sense of challenge wrote his work entitled- *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* in which the refutation is suggested in the very title itself. Generally most of the Śāstric treatises abound in this kind of literary debates in the wake of challenge.[13]

Some of the epithets like महावादी,[14] प्रतिवादिभयंकरः वादीभपञ्चाननः and others suggest the debates in which hot discussions were taking place in the background of challenges. The author of *Śāṅkaradigvijaya* describes the debate between Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and Maṇḍanamiśra in which both took a challenge of victory, and the defeated party should change its *Āśrama* i.e. from *Sannyāsāśrama* to *Gṛhasthāśrama* or vice-verse. Similar debate on *Alaṅkāraśāstra* between Jagannātha and Appaya Dīkṣita is heard to have taken place in the court of the king. Thus, we learn that these debates were taking place in the wake of challenges.

Another most important example of a challenge in Sanskrit, is the tradition of *Aṣṭāvadhāna* or *Daśāvadhāna* or *Śatāvadhāna.*

The *Avadhāna* is an art that depends on the intellectual capacity and perceptional adeptness of man. The art of *Avadhāna* is exercising control over the mind and focusing it on relevent matters. The scholar presenting this art is called *Avadhānī.* The person who asks him questions is called *Pṛcchaka.* The *Avadhānī* composes metrical verses in Sanskrit on the topics specified by the enquirer. In spite of interruptions in the form of ringing the bell, irrelevent questions, numerical frame work (*Saṅkhyābandha*) etc. which may upset his concentration; he composes captivating verses without the help of any writing material. If the members in the party of inquirers are eight or ten, the *Avadhānī* is called *Aṣṭāvadhānī* or *Daśāvadhānī.*

The first one is called *Niṣedhākṣarī* in which, the inquirer gives to the *Avadhānī* the topic and the metre of the verse to be composed. When he starts combining letters to compose a poem, the enquirer prohibits the use of the succeeding letter. For example, the *Avadhānī* sets forth to compose a verse on Gaṇapati and utters the syllable *Ga;* the inquirer assuming the subsequent letter to be *Ṇa,* prohibits its use. Then, the *Avadhānī* turns to the letter *Jā,* whereupon the inquirer prohibits the use of *Na* as the succeeding syllable. Then, the *Avadhānī* uses *Sya* (गजास्य). Like this, six letters can be prohibitted at a time. Poetic skill is required even on the part of the inquirer.

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[13] परमतनिराकरणपूर्वकं स्वमतस्थापनम् । तर्कसंग्रहः परीक्षाग्रन्थः - Annambhaṭṭa, ed. Dr. Adakali, Kumata (Karnataka), 2004

[14] आर्य सुवर्णाक्षी पुत्रस्य.....महावादिनः.....अश्वघोषस्य । - सौन्दरानन्दम् - Colophon of the last canto, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi

The second one is the *Samasyāpūrti* which is well-known to the readers, in which the inquirer gives the last line and the *Avadhānī* composes the remaining lines of that verse. For e.g. दहत्यहो पश्य तुषारपर्वतः[15].

The third one is the *Kāvya-vācana* in which the inquirer sings some stanzas from the compositions of well-known authors, set to *Rāga, Nāda, Tāla* and asks about the context, the poet and the work. The *Avadhānī,* then either gives the correct answer, or relates about the poet, the work and the context in the form of verse, set to the same *Rāga* and *Tāla.*

The fourth one is the *Abhinaya,* in which the inquirer sings a poem, say from the drama *Veṇīsaṁhāra* or the *Gītagovinda* that can be enacted. The *Avadhānī* acts showing various feelings or emotions (like a dancer) on his face according to the verse. For example: मथ्नामि कौरवशतं समरे न कोपात्......। (First Act of *Veṇīsaṁhāra*).

The fifth one is *Dattapadī* in which the inquirer stipulates a condition in the composition of the *Avadhānī.* Some specified topic is given, along with a condition of using some specific words in different lines. For example, the inquirer can give instruction to compose with the following words - *Sukha,* in the first line; *Maraṇa* in the second line, *janana* the last word of the third line and *maṅgala* in the last line etc.

The sixth one is *Āśukāvya,* in which the inquirer instructs to compose a verse in a particular metre on an interesting topic. The *Avadhānī* composes the same in that metre[16].

The next one is *Nyastākṣarī.* Here, the inquirer instructs the *Avadhānī* to compose a verse on a specified event using the letters of a particular word in every line one by one. For example - the four letters of the word (सरस्वती) Sarasvatī should be the beginning of all the lines.

The subsequent item is *Tālalayagīta.* A musician plays the flute, violin, lute etc. set to *Rāga* and *Tāla.* The *Avadhānī,* after composing a verse on the specified topic, sings the same set to the same *Rāga* and *Tāla.*

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[15] On an occasion of *Aṣṭāvadhāna,* the author of this article gave this line to the *Avadhānī* and *Śatāvadhānī.* Dr. R. Ganeshan composed a verse related to the battle of Kargil where the mountains of Himalaya were burning with missiles.

[16] In the *Aṣṭāvadhāna* programme telecast, once given by Dr. R. Ganeshan, the topic was about the condition of a city on the day when water is not coming in the tap. He composed a beautiful verse on the same.

The *Ghaṇṭāvādanam* is another item in which a person is sounding bell at repeated intervals to invite the attention of the *Avadhānī*. At the end, the *Avadhānī* tells the number of gongs.

The last one or the tenth one is *Saṅkhyābandha*. Generally, nine squares are drawn on a black board, not seen by the *Avadhānī*. A figure is asked by a person in the audience, and keeping that number in the mind, the *Avadhānī* tells as and when it is asked by the inquirer the number to put in the squares. At the end, the total number of all the three squares as given by the *Avadhānī* from horizontal and vertical comes to the same number which is pronounced by the person in the audience at the very outset.

In addition to these ten items there is one more item just to upset the concentrations of the *Avadhānī*, and that is called *Aprastuta-prasaṅga* (irrelevent questions). The inquirer in this party poses interesting quests on various topics like politics, society, philosophy, factual, historical, personal or impersonal and like wise. The *Avadhānī* displays his skill by giving witty answers on entertaining statements. Thus, the *Avadhānī*, has to act as a poet, a scholar, a musician, a dancer, an actor, a politician, and what not. He takes those questions as a strong challenge and meets it successfully by his extraordinary intelligence.

Thus, swearing words of poets as observed above suggest a sense of challenge in one or the other way. Kolācala Mallinātha a renowned commentator, puts forth his core of objectives at the very outset of his commentary as - *nāmūlam likhyate kiñcit nānapekṣitamucyate* and he maintains the same throughout his commentary in the wake of a challenge. Most of the *Prahelikās* are open challenges to scholars.[17] The poets of these *Prahelikas* are putting the issues along with the solutions and challenging the scholars to find it out.

Some statements like *Gadyam kavīnām nikaṣam. vadanti. Naiṣadham vidvaauṣadham. Bhāgavate paṇḍitānām parīkṣā.* and others provoke challenges.

Perhaps this sense of challenge in Sanskrit might have sprung up from or might have been fairly influenced by the swearing words found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we have good many incidents suggesting the challenges. The most important one is of Rāma, when he approched Kaikeyī at the coronation ceremony before his exile. He spoke with challenging words to Kaikeyī that he would obey her words with certainty, and put an end to his life if he fails to carry out her words.[18]

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[17] ---- यो जानाति स पण्डितः ।
इहैव गोपितः कर्ता वर्षेणापि न लभ्यते । - सम्प्रदायः
अम्लानपंकजा माला कण्ठे रामस्य सीतया ।
मुधा बुधा भ्रमन्त्यत्र प्रत्यक्षेऽपि क्रियापदे । - सम्प्रदायः

The story of *Mahābhārata* is full of challanges. The swearing words of Bhīmasena at the time of *Vastrāpaharaṇa* in the context of gambling is welknown in the history itself.[19] A good number of contexts in the various literary works of classical Sanskrit literature like epics, lyrics, prose works, dramas, *campūs,* didactic works and others is a green evidence to show the wide scope of challenges in Sanskrit literature.

In the modern days, the science is giving out good many technical terms in English, and Sanskrit in view of its flexibility, is reaching a turning point by providing equivalent words for them. Numerous prepositions, innumarable verbal roots and the facility of compound and participles in Sanskrit have enhanced a great deal in forming any kind of technical word in Sanskrit. Sanskrit scholars are taking it to be a challenge.

When it is discovered that Sanskrit is the most suitable language to the computer, Sanskrit scholars are taking it to be a challenge to readjust it to the technicalities of computer, and showing it to be the most scientific language in the world.

Taking the word "challange" in the sense of 'a problem', the first point of the contemporary challenge is the medium of instruction in learning Sanskrit. If Sanskrit is taken to be the medium, the problem, now-a-days, is with both the teacher and the taught. Sufficient training is required on both the sides. Therefore, regional language is to be resorted to. Otherwise, English is to be taken as the medium. But teachers themselves are not prepared for this. In these days, at some places, the importance of English is decreasing considerably and in some other places it is highly increasing. This is one of the most important challenges that the teacher and the taught are facing.

Second point of challenge is that the Sanskrit writers are not well equipped in composing works in Sanskrit. The grammar, vocabulary, outlines of *Śāstras*[20] and other requirements are not sufficiently gained. Proper guidance in this direction is not provided. Simplification in the rules of grammar is another problem. Some technical problems at the level of the Government, is another challenge to the study of Sanskrit. However, serious efforts in this direction will help us to overcome these challenges one by one.

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[18] अहं हि वचनाद्राज्ञः पतेयमपि पावके
भक्षयेयं विषं तीव्रं मज्जेयमपि चार्णवे ।
करिष्ये प्रतिजानीते रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ॥ - रामायणम्, अयोध्याकाण्ड, ed. Krishnacharya, Nirnaya Sagar, Bombay, 1905, 29-29,30
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम । - रामायण, युद्धकाण्डः - 18-33

[19] यद्येतदेवमुक्त्वाहं न कुर्यां पृथिवीश्वराः ।
पितामहानां पूर्वेषां नाहं गतिमवाप्नुयाम् ॥
अस्य पापस्य दुर्बुद्धेः भारतापसदस्य च
न पिबेयं बलाद् वक्षो भित्त्वा चेत् रुधिरं ध्रुवम् ॥ महाभारत, सभापर्व, Gitapress, Gorakhpur, Vol. 1, 1997, 68-52, 53

In fine, we see that keeping this sense of challenge in their heart of heart, poets and scholars have brought out good many works which have shaped the future of Sanskrit to a great extent.

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[20] शक्तिर्निपुणता-लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणात् ।
काव्यज्ञ-शिक्षयाभ्यास इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे ॥ काव्यप्रकाशः of मम्मट, ed. D.T. Chandarkar, G. Ramchandra & Co., Pune, 1915, I/3

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THE ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF GERMAN INDOLOGISTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : A STUDY

DINESH KUMAR OJHA*

The earliest attempts at unraveling the past of India began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The compulsions of imperialism and the forces of modernism unleashed by renaissance impelled many scholars to examine the cultural ethos and the evolutionary pattern of India. It was the Jesuits and the employees of East India Company who inititated the process of studying the ancient Indian history. Besides the missionary zeal and the needs of Company, the age of enlightenment, which created an urge in the mankind to know itself, had a lasting impact on the early Indian historiography. Thus, the scholars like William Jones, Charles Wilkins and James Mill who were associated with the East India Company and also influenced by the age of enlightenment are remembered as the important early Indologists. But even though the Britishers dominated the field of Indology initially, it was the Germans who surpassed the British scholars by the middle of the nineteenth century. As early as in 1823 August, Wilhelm Von Schlegel wrote in (*Indische Bibliothek* I, 15), 'should the Englishmen have a monopoly of Indian literature ? It is too late now. They may keep their cinnamon and cloves, but, these intellectual treasures (Sanskrit literature) are the common property of all educated people of the world'. The attitude of Germans towards India and its tradition is made clear by Max Muller's following remark, 'A scholar who studies Sanskrit in Germany is supposed to be initiated in the deep and dark mysteries of ancient Wisdom, and a man who has traveled in India, even if he has only discovered Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, is listened to like another Marcopolo'.[1]

It is commonly accepted that the British scholars were attracted towards the past of India so that the much needed justification for imperialism could be provided. But, the same could not be said about Germany. Thus, one wonders what would have been the reasons which prompted the early German scholars to have interest in Indology. It is a fact that enlightenment through its important school utilitarianism had important role to play in developing history as an independent branch of learning. Medieval historiography

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp.135-143.

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[1] Muller Max, *India What can it teach us ?*, New York, 1883, P.4.

which gave a metaphysical and theological interpretation of past was replaced, in its modern version, by rational and scientific theories. Religion which up till now had stifled the growth of history gave way to critical and dispassionate analysis of past mainly because of the overwhelming impact of enlightenment. But the fact that utilitarianism had a notion that the problems of humanity had a universal character and thus the remedy too was universal led it to overemphasize upon the generalizations often to the neglect of the local aspects of individual cultures. Most of the times the Euro-centric view was so projected that it became synonymous with the universal ideas. As a consequence, many counties of Asia and Africa often felt alienated and disgruntled. But, the emergence of romanticism in second half of the nineteenth century had no such qualms and thus it proved to be the precursor of historiography in many countries. Historiography under its influence became closely related to literature, and style became as much important as content. Romanticism was a school of thought which discarded reason in preference to imagination, and in place of ojbectivity, Unity, fixity, universality, uniformity of the Enlightenment, a taste was developed for fanciful, fantastic, picturesque, poetic, sentimental, idealistic and extravagant concepts in history.[2] The main purpose of Romanticism, says B. Sheik Ali, was to rouse the interest of man in history, to make the events of the past interesting, although at the expense of truth, and to infuse respect for national characters and institutions.[3]

Indology received its greatest impetus from this Romanticist historiography. Such thoughts which regarded each nation as a unit in itself and gave due importance to local sentiments and ethos and respected the unique features of every civilization took a more favourable view of Indian society and culture. Romantics, as Winternitz observes, "plunged with the greatest enthusiasm into everything that was foreign, strange and distant, were particularly attracted by India. From India they expected to obtain nothing less than 'information about the history of primeval world".[4] There is no denying the fact that it was Germany which was the main centre of Romanticism in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the French attack on Germany in 1805 unleashed the national sentiment at an unprecedented scale. The Germans realized that since they were not united they had to face disgrace at the hands of Napoleon's army. As a consequence, many German intellectuals gave passionate call to their fellow nationals to have pride in their past and confidence upon themselves. To arouse the passion and sentimental feeling among the masses, it was sought by many to establish that Germans had traditionally been so. Putting forth the glorious past of Germany, it was underlined that the ascendancy of Germany could be ensured if the traditional values were again reinforced. Such an attitude proved to be conducive where the romantic ideas could be implanted firmly.

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[2] Sheik Ali B., *History Its Theory and Method*, Macmillan, Madras, 1978, p.224.

[3] *Ibid.*, P.225

[4] Winternitz Maurice, *A History of Indian Literature*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1981, Vol. I, P.12

Germany being the centre of Romanticism, it provided the most fertile ground for the efflorescence of Indology. India was expected to throw some light about the idyllic past of Mankind. As Romila Thapar says 'Indian Society characterized by harmony and an absence of social tension - was a utopian society'[5]. Leopold V. Schroeder opines 'Indians are the folk of Romanticism in ancient times. Germans are so in modern times...'.[6] Drawing a parallel between the mental make-up of Germans and the Indians, G. Brandes observes 'the inclination to perspective observation and to abstract speculation as well as leanings to Pantheism are common to Germans and Indians'.[7] Similarly Winternitz thinks that 'Sentimentality and natural feeling are equally characteristic of German and Indian poetry, whereas they are entirely unknown to Hebrew or Greek Poetry.[8]

Poet Friedrich Schlegel was the founder of Indian philology in Germany. During his stay in Paris from 1802 to 1806, he learnt Sanskrit from Alexander Hamilton and wrote the book *"On the Language and Wisdom of Indians: A Contribution to the Foundation of Archaeology"* (1808). This work which contained portions from *Rāmāyaṇa,* from Manu's Law book, and *Bhagavadgītā* and *Śākuntala* episode of *Mahābhārata* was the first direct translation from Sanskrit into German. But, it was August Wilhelm Von Schlegel (the brother of Friedrich Schlegel) who through his numerous text editions and translations widened and strengthened the base of Indian philology. He was the first German to be appointed as a Professor of Sanskrit at the newly established University of Bonn. Founding of the periodical *Indische Bibliothek* (in 1823) by August Wilhelm Von Schlegel proved to be a great step in the development of Indology. Bopp, Grimm, Humboldt, Roth were some other scholars who devoted themselves to the study of Indian literature.

Franz Bopp, the contemporary of August Wilhelm Von Schlegel, learnt Sanskrit and made important contribution in the field of Indology. Unlike the Schlegel brothers who were romantics and regarded the study of ancient Indian literature as a kind of adventure so as to bring to the light of the day what was forgotten and missed, Bopp relied more upon rational and critical faculty of mind and indulged in a comparative study of Sanskrit with other classical languages. His important work '*On the Conjugation System of Sanskrit Language*' (1816) proved to be, in the words of Winternitz, the founder of the science of

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5. Thapar Romila, *The Past and Prejudice*, National Book Trust, Delhi, 1975, P.5.
6. Quoted in M. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, P.6.
7. Winternitz M., *op. cit.*, P.6.
8. *Ibid.*, P.6.

comparative philology.[9] Bopp is also credited to have edited and translated many episodes from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. His critical edition and Latin translation of *Nala Damayantī* episode from *Mahābhārata* is till date considered to be a masterpiece. Bopp's *Sanskrit grammar* (1827) and his *Glossarium Sanscritum* (1830) greatly popularized the study of Sanskrit in Germany. Another important German Indologist with indelible mark was Wilhelm Von Humboldt who was enamoured of Sanskrit literature. He categorically stated 'that without a thorough study of Sanskrit, we cannot achieve any thing in the science of language or in the kind of history that is connected with it.'[10] Being greatly influenced by Schlegel's edition of *Bhagavadgītā*, Humboldt himself produced a work on it which later on proved to be a milestone. Friedrick Ruckert with his indefatigable attitude translated a large number of Sanskrit works. Winternitz observes 'of the most beautiful pearls of Indian epic and lyric literature, much became the common property of the German folk through his efforts'.[11]

Perhaps the most significant contribution of German Indologists towards the study of Sanskrit literature was the compilation of *Sanskrit Dictionary* by Otto Bohtlingk and Rudolph Roth which was published by the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The first part of this work appeared in 1852 but the complete work in seven volumes could be completed by 1875 only. Alberect Weber was the first German Sanskrit scholar who attempted to write a complete history of Indian literature. His book, *Academic Lectures on Indian History of Literature* (1852) proved to be the major milestone in the history of Indology and in the views of Winternitz the most reliable and complete handbook of Indian literature. Weber in his work reviewed about 500 works of Indian literature and made some path breaking analysis and generalizations regarding the past of India.

Perhaps the most revered name among the early European Indologists was that of Max Muller. He had great respect for the past of India. He underlined the importance of Oriental world, and India in particular, for a proper understanding of human evolution and progress. Max Muller observes. 'And in the study of the history of the human mind, in that study of ourselves, of our true selves, India occupies a place second to no other country'.[12] Calling India, 'in some parts a very paradise on earth.' Max Muller observes, 'If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied

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[9] *Ibid.*, P.14.

[10] Quoted in M. Winternitz., *op.cit.*, P.15.

[11] Quoted in M. Winternitz, *op.cit.*, P.15.

[12] Muller Max, *op.cit.*, New York, 1883, P.13.

Plato and Kant- I should point to India.[13] He also did not mince his words while criticizing scholars, like Mill. The book which I consider most mischievous, nay, which I hold responsible for some of the greatest misfortune that have happened to India, is Mill's *History of British India.*[14]

Max Muller was one of the few earliest scholars, who understood the importance of Sanskrit and the Vedas for the proper understanding of Ancient India. He edited the whole text of '*Ṛg-Veda*' with the commentary of Sāyaṇa (1848), and in 1859 published his '*History of Sanskrit literature*', in which, all the Sanskrit texts known till then were mapped out in chronological order. Another outstanding achievement of Muller was the founding of the '*Sacred Books of the East*' (1875) Series, which made available in English the rich store of source materials preserved in Sanskrit literature.

Knowledge of the *Vedas* and the Sanskrit language were important not only for knowing the history of ancient India, but also for a proper understanding of European history as well. Muller observes, '*Vedic* period, deserves the careful attention, not of oriental scholars only, but of every educated man and woman who wishes to know how we, even we here in England and in this nineteenth century of ours, came to be what we are'.[15] He further comments 'It (*Vedas*) can teach us lessons which nothing else can teach, as to the origin of our own language, the first formation of our concepts and the true natural germs of all that is comprehended under the name of civilization, at least the civilization of the Aryan race, that race to which we and all the greatest nations of the world, the Hindus, the Persians, the Greeks and Romans, the Slavs, the Celts, and last not least the Teutons belong.'[16]

The myth of a superior Aryan Race supposed to be responsible for the development of human civilization, seems to have been subscribed by Max Muller as well. Taking Hindus of ancient India as belonging to the family of Aryan Race, Muller writes 'Our nearest intellectual relatives, the Aryas of India, the framers of the most wonderful language, the Sanskrit, the fellow-workers in the construction of our fundamental concepts, the fathers of the most natural of natural religions, the makers of the most transparent of mythologies, the inventors of the most subtle philosophy, and the elaborate laws'.[17] However, Muller though traces the same descent of the Indian Aryas as of Europeans, he propounds that the temperament of the two were different, 'whereas in his migrations northward his active and political energies are called out and brought to their highest perfection, we find the other side of the human character, the passive and meditative, carried to its fullest growth in India'.[18]

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[13] Muller Max, *op.cit.*, New York, 1883, P.6

[14] *Ibid.*, P.39

[15] *Ibid.*, P.106

[16] *Ibid.*, P.105

[17] *Ibid.*, P.14

Like many other European scholars, Muller too, thinks that the Ancient Indians were too much engrossed in the metaphysical speculation and other worldly affairs. It was the transcendental world, which attracted the Hindus; whereas the present material world was considered to be transitory and thus worthless. How religion encompassed the whole life of Ancient Indians; is made clear through his following observation, 'religion was not only one interest by the side of many. It was the all absorbing interest, it embraced not only worship and prayer, but what we call philosophy, mortality, law and government - all was pervaded by religion. Their whole life was to them a religion- everything else was, as it were, a mere concession made to the ephemeral requirements of this life.'[19] The dichotomy between the oriental and occidental world is also brought to fore when Muller writes 'to the Greek, existence is full of life and reality, to the Hindus it is a dream, an illusion. The Greek is at home where he is born; all his energies belong to his country and is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas. The Hindu enters this world as a stranger, all his thoughts are directed to another world, he takes no part even where he is driven to act, and when he sacrifices his life, it is but to be delivered from it'.[20]

If the inhabitants of Ancient India were concerned so much with the spiritual aspect of life and had least to do with mundane affiars, it would follow as a natural corollary that the 'science of polity' would struggle to develop itself into an independent branch of studies. It was almost universally, accepted by the Europeans that ancient Indians did not have a feeling of nationality, and Patriotism was never recognized as a virtue. This was so primarily because of the passive, meditative and inward looking mentality of Indians. Max Muller also reflects a similar view-point when he writes. 'History supplies no second instance where the inward life of the soul has so completely absorbed all practical faculties of a whole people, and in fact destroyed those qualities by which a nation gains its place in history. While other nations as Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans....have during certain periods, culminated on the political horizon of the world, India has moved in such a small and degraded circle of political existence that it remained almost invisible to the eyes of other nations'.[21]

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[18] Muller Max, *op.cit.*, New York, 1883, P.85

[19] *Ibid.*, P.96

[20] Muller Max, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1860, P.9.

[21] *Ibid.*, P.XVII.

Thus we can infer that Max Muller had a very high opinion about the language, religion and literature of ancient India. But he too subscribed in certain matters to stereotypes, like the Indians could not make a mark in the field of polity, feeling of Nationality was not much cherished upon, and there was the myth of a superior Aryan race. However, Muller, while underlining the primacy of religion and philosophy in the life of ancient India, does reflect a feeling of admiration, not contempt.

Publication of "*Sacred Books of the East*" Series was a major step in the direction of discovering the past of India. This Series made available in English the *Vedas,* the *Upaniṣads,* the Buddhist and the Jaina canonical works. But it was the critical edition and translation of various *Dharma Sūtras* and *Smṛtis* which proved to be of immense help in knowing the polity of Ancient India, more specifically its 'law'. General evolution of these *Dharma-Sūtras* into metrical *Smṛtis;* Existence of special Law schools which were devoted exclusively towards the formulation of legal tenets; and like, are discussed in introduction to the various volumes of this Series, by scholars like Max Muller, Buhler, Jolly, Eggeling. As a marked departure, it was emphasized that law schools were free from sectarian influences and the methodology employed by compilers of *Smṛtis* was critical and comparative. In place of many *Brahmanical* and mythical legends, historical and social evolution of the legal institutions was put forward. The Discovery of the *Dharma Sūtras,* opines Buhler, enabled Max Muller to dispose finally off the *Brahmanical* legend according to which 'Hindu society was supposed to be governed by the Codes of ancient sages, compiled for the express purpose of tying down each individual to his station, and of strictly regulating even the smallest act of his daily life'.[22]

Unlike many Brāhmaṇa theoreticians who assumed that these *Dharma Sūtras* are sacred because they are revealed works on par with Vedas, scholars like Muller and Buhler underlined their human origin. Muller observes '*Dharma Sūtras* are the products of *Sūtra Caraṇas* i.e. *Vedic* Schools whose founder did not pretend to have received revelation of *Vedic-Mantras* or of a Brāhmaṇa text, but, merely gave a new systematic arrangement of the precepts regarding sacrifices and the sacred laws'.[23] Buhler also puts forward a similar opinion when he writes '*Dharma Sūtras* are the compositions of ordinary mortals, based on the teachings of the *Vedas,* on the decisions of those who are acquainted with the law and on the customs of virtuous Aryas. In some cases these authors say as much in plain words. Thus Āpastamba repeatedly laments the sinfulness and the weakness of 'the men of later times' and Gautama warns against an imitation of the irregular conduct of the ancients whose great 'lustre' prevented them from falling'.[24] Such explanation for the origin of 'Sacred laws' is in conformity with modern historiography which seeks to substitute myths and legends with historical evolution, where man is the precursor to all the developments in human society. Commenting upon the nature of changes brought about, Buhler further writes 'Max Muller substituted a rational theory of historical development for the fantastic fables of the Hindu-tradition'.[25]

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[22] Buhler G., *The Sacred Laws of the Aryas, S.B.E.*, Vol. II, Part I, Low price publications, Delhi, 1996, P.IX.

[23] *Ibid.*, P.XVII.

As a departure from the earlier held notion that ancient India did not witness the growth of law, independent to that of kingly commands, scholars like Buhler talk of the existence of 'Special Law Schools' which devoted themselves exclusively to the development of 'law'. Commenting on the nature of such schools, Buhler remarks, 'These law schools were independent of any particular *śākhā* of the *Veda,* and supplanted the *Vedic caraṇas* as far as the teaching of the sacred law is concerned'.[26] Buhler in an effort to explain the process through which these law schools emerged and evolved makes following observation, 'Vedic schools first systematized and cultivated the six sciences. As the materials for each of these subjects accumulated and the method of their treatment prefected, new schools of science such as 'school of law', which restricted the range of their teaching, taught their curriculum thoroughly and intelligently, came into existence'.[27] It is also pointed out that proponents of various law schools, unlike the *vaidika* did not rely on repeating by rote the texts, but, employed the techniques of ''comparative analysis' before compiling their law books. Buhler enunciates the whole process in following words. 'Thus though a *Paṇḍita* who chiefly devotes himself to the sacred law may belong to the *Vedic* school of Baudhāyana or Āpastamba, he will not make Baudhāyana's or Āpastamba's *Dharma Sūtra* the starting point of his studies', on the contrary, it will frequently happen that he possesses no knowledge of the *Dharma Sūtra* of his school, except a few passage quoted in the commentaries and digests. If he has read the whole work, he will consult it only as one of the many utterances of the ancient sages. He will not attribute it to a higher authority than to other *Smṛtis,* but, interpret it in accordance with the rules of the secondary *Dharma Śāstras* of Manu or Yājñavalkya'.[28]

A perusal of the above paragraphs indicates that beginning with the first quarter of the nineteenth century, German scholars showed the greatest leaning towards Indology. Britishers who were the imperial rulers of the India and also were the ones who initiated the process of unraveling the past of India did not show the same zeal which characterized the efforts of Jones and Wilson. Such a state of affairs is underlined by Rhys Davids when he says 'And throughout England the state of things is nearly as bad. In all England, for instance, there are two chairs of Sanskrit. In Germany, the Government provides more than twenty-just as if Germany's interests in India were more than ten times as great to ours.'[29] The German leaning towards the past of India proved to be very crucial for the development of Indology. Unlike the Britain, they were not the imperial power and thus were not compelled to defend the capitalism and imperialism in a blatant manner. It was also significant in the sense that unlike Britain, Germany witnessed the development of Romanticism which had respect and sympathy for the regional cultures of the world. Even though German Indologists too, were overwhelmed by the Eurocentric notion and nourished such viewpoints as the superiority of an Aryan Race, they could understand the importance of nationalism as a rallying point for the millions of people to assert themselves and develop an attitude of self esteem. Such an orientation of the mind proved to be a stepping stone for many Indians to be involved in unraveling the past of India.

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[24] Buhler G., *The Laws of Manu, S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, Low price publications, Delhi, 1996, P.XI.

[25] *Ibid.*, PP. XIX-XX.

[26] Buhler G., *The Laws of Manu, S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV, Low price publications, Delhi, 1996, P.XLVI.

[27] *Ibid.*, P.XLVI.

[28] *Ibid.*, P.XLIX.

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29. Davids, T.W. Rhys - *Buddhist India, Preface,* London, 1903, P.VII.

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KRISTUBHĀGAVATAM : A SANSKRIT EPIC ON THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST

SWETA PRAJAPATI*

Introduction

The Christian literature available in different forms in Sanskrit language is one of the special features of Modern Sanskrit Literature. The literature has a history of two hundred years. We came to know that in 1803, the Christian missionaries had secured the necessary permission to propagate their religion in India and then Christianity began to spread in India by leaps and bounds. The Christian mission of Shrirampur translated their sacred books into Sanskrit for the spread of Christianity. The '*New Testament of our lord and saviour Jesus Christ*' in three volumes was translated in the supervision of William Carey and was published from Shrirampur Mission Press in 1808-11. The Old and New Testaments are then translated by Sanskrit scholars. The Calcutta Baptist Missionaries brought out from Calcutta in 1843 the translation of the *Book of Genesis* and a part of *Exodus* from Hebrew into Sanskrit. Two collections of the *Proverbs of Solomon* in Sanskrit appeared from Calcutta. Of the portions of the *Bible*, the Sermon on the Mount attracted many Sanskritists. Then original writings flowed. The *Girigītā* of K.P.Urmese is one of them. *Īśvaroktaśāstradhārā, Paulacarita, Kristayajñavidhiḥ, Kristadharmakaumudī* are some of the works appeared in the 19th century[1]. Of the smaller *kāvyas, Śrīyeśosaurabham* by Soma Varma Raja is interesting. It has five cantos. A spirit of the divine and a sense of devotion pervade the whole of the poem which is a happy blend of simplicity and profundity. Another smaller original work in Sanskrit prose on the life of Lord Christ is the *Yeśucaritam* by J. Marcel who styles himself as Marśalācārya. The entire life of the Lord is put here succinctly in an easy and fluent style in five *adhyāyas*. The *Mahātyāgī* of M.O.Avara is originally in Malayalam but translated into Sanskrit by K.P.Narayana Pisharoty. The poem has 163 stanzas. The pathetic event of crucifixion of Christ is treated in this poem. The Christian Sanskritists had to confront the non-Christian local people through their own medium for which they had special fascination. Therefore they took to

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp.145-186.

* Oriental Institute, M.S.University of Baroda, Vadodara.

[1] Rawal, A.J. & Lele Vijaya, *Arvācīna Sanskṛta Sāhityano Itihāsa*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1992, pp. 214-217.

composing the works as approximated to the old Hindu Sanskrit works in nomenclature and style such as *Kristāyana, Girigītā, Kristusahasranāma, Kristopaniṣad* and *Kristubhāgavatam* etc.

The *Kristubhāgavatam*[2] of P.C. Devassia is one of the outstanding Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas* produced in twentieth century. It is the first comprehensive work in Sanskrit written on the life of Jesus Christ. The poet has successfully described most of the incidents that have occurred in the life of Jesus, including most of his miracles, parables and utterances in simple and graceful Sanskrit. Following the tradition of Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas*, the poet Devassia has added imaginative and descriptive material of his own without distorting the original theme. This *Mahākāvya* is divided into 33 cantos, which probably indicate 33 years of Jesus's life that he had lived in this world. The poet has his own vision, different from that of a historian or an anthropologist. The narrative is mainly based on the four Gospels. The author has also recorded his indebtedness to the work '*The Greatest Story Ever Told*' of Fulton Orseler.

The title *Kristubhāgavatam* can be explained as follows: *bhagavataḥ idam bhāgavatam* pertaining to *bhagavān*. Here Kristu is supposed to be the *bhagavān* and hence the title implies a composition in which Kristubhagavān forms the subject.

About the quality of the work, C.Rajendran rightly remarks[3]: "Though the theme is novel, the author, with his fine mastery over the Sanskrit language, has been able to present the life story of Christ in a style which is so natural that we would treat it on a par with ancient *mahākāvyas.*"

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* written by Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa is a scripture superbly written, with aesthetic sensitivity, devotional intensity and metaphysical subtlety; a tapestry resplendent in its colour, and its intertwining motifs. This monumental work of Sanskrit literature, which to my mind, is unique and it has no parallel in the world literature. It is accepted to be one of the *Mahāpurāṇas*. P.C. Devassia has no doubt been inspired by this work and had endeavoured to compose a poem in the line of *Bhāgavata* depicting various aspects of the lord Christ.

The Author

Plakkiyil Chacko Devassia was born in Kodamallur near Kottayam of Kerala state, on 24th March 1906. He has successfully completed hundred years of his life. He is a scholar of repute and has contributed notable works both in Sanskrit and Malayalam. He has worked as professor in various colleges of Kerala. He has to his credit 14 creative works in Malayalam, 3 in Sanskrit and 7 in English. He is honoured with 19 awards, the highest being the President of India's certificate of honour in 1998. For *Kristubhāgavatam* he is awarded the National Sahitya Academy award. Various titles like *Paṇḍitaratnam, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Vācaspati* and *Sāhityakalānidhi* are conferred on him by various academic institutes.

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[2] Devassia, P.C., *Kristubhāgavatam*, Jayabharatam, Trivandrum, Kerala, 1977.

[3] Rajendran, C., "Sanskrit Kavyas of Post-independence Kerala", *Post-Independence Sanskrit Literature : A Critical Survey*, Prof. Dr. A.M.Prajapati Felicitation Volume, Ed. Manibhai K. Prajapati, Patan, 2005, p.92

Summary of the *Kristubhāgavatam* :

Canto I *Kanyakādarśanam* (The sage meets the Virgin)

At the outset the poet prays to the 'brilliant star' for the successful completion of his epic poem. After remembering the first poet Vālmīki with great reverence, the poet starts to describe the story of Jesus.

There was living a sage by name Joseph in the Nazareth town. He belonged to the royal family of the king David. But he was a mere carpenter by profession. Many merchants from the East were impressed by his brilliant craftsmanship, which he displayed in the construction of houses and articles of furniture. He had acquired knowledge in the writings of ancient prophets. He was passing his days in reciting prayers and chanting the hymns. Though belonged to the Jewish race, he, like a lotus, though born in water, was standing apart from water. In those days, Palestine was invaded and occupied by foreign powers. It had continually suffered untold agonies. Thousands of young men from the provinces of Judea and Galilee challenged the Roman rule and sacrificed their lives. Samuel, the leader of militant rebels had respect for the sage Joseph. Thousands of patriots died for Israel during 100 years. The Romans had held Israel. One day Samuel asked the sage about the means to make the nation free. The sage did not advise for war and said that there will appear a liberator. Samuel advised the sage Joseph to get married.

Joseph saw to Samuel the young beautiful Mary who had migrated from Jerusalem with her family. She is the daughter of virtuous Joachim and his wife Anna. Samuel motivated Joseph to proceed in the relationship with Mary. Joseph decided to go to her home in the next morning.

Canto II *Pratiśrutiḥ* (The Betrothal)

Joseph next morning dressed well started to the Mary's home. Passing through various beautiful ways he reached in the house of Mary at the city of Damascus. Zacharias opened the door. There was Elizabeth, wife of Zacharias and Mary's cousin at home.

Mary's father informed his wife Anna about the young man. As per the Jewish custom Joseph was offered food and drink. Then they discussed about the family, occupation and other things of Joseph, who put the marriage proposal before them. Her parents agreed to the proposal and gave Mary's hand with the words - 'you are now betrothed'.

Canto III *Sakharyasya darśanam* (The vision of Zacharias)

Zacharias, the priest had been appointed in the temple of Jerusalem to offer sacrifice. Joachim also made preparations to go to Jerusalem. Joseph, the new bridegroom also joined them along with Mary and her mother. On that day thousands of people gladly gathered there to witness the first sacrifice to be performed by Zacharias who putting on a pair of white and yellow garments, entered the dais. Zacharias smitten with grief on account of his childlessness at the age of seventy, secretly made a prayer for obtaining a son. His prayer was granted and an angel said to him - "your wife Elizabeth will give birth to a son. You must call him John. That son will give you immense joy and he will be great before the Almighty." But Zacharias did not trust the angel. The angel being angry with this distrust cursed him that when this event will take place he will be deprived of the power of speech. In due course of time Elizabeth who had been ridiculed by her relatives for her sterility became pregnant.

Canto IV *Maṅgalavijñāpanam* (The Annunciation)

Mary was eagerly waiting for the auspicious ceremony of her marriage. The Nazareth town was bedecked with the spring season. Mary was on the terrace of her house. She saw a supernatural being, resembling the sun-god. That figure then addressed her that "she will be pregnant with Holy Spirit and will give a birth to a son, whom she must call Jesus. He will inherit the throne of his father David. He will be the king over the family of Jacob for ever. And His kingdom shall never perish." The angel disappeared instantly. Mary was worried as to how to disclose this matter to her parents and beloved. She decided to disclose everything to Elizabeth, her maternal cousin.

Canto V *Bandhugṛhābhigamanam* (The Visitation)

Many people departed for the village Ain Karim, where old kinswoman Elizabeth lived with her husband. There she lived for three months. She was eager to disclose the miracle with her people. Elizabeth gave birth to a son. On the circumcision ceremony Zacharias offered him the name John, the name assigned by the messenger of God. At that very moment Zacharias regained his lost power of speech. Mary returned to her husband and told everything about spiritual being and also about her conception through the Holy Spirit. Her husband also got informed by an angel about the Holy Spirit. On the testimony of the messenger of God, Joseph accepted her beloved and became eager for the birth of a son.

Canto VI *Janmadeśagamanam* (A journey to Bethlehem)

The marriage of Mary and Joseph took place at the bride's home. As per the command of the Roman emperor, Joseph had to go to Bethlehem,(the seat of the family of the king David) to enroll their name. Mary was far advanced in her pregnancy. The young couple talked about an angel and about the holy child in the womb. Joseph saw Mary a famous Shiloh, house of the Lord, Gilgal and other places. They safely crossed a well-known narrow path called - baspatatam- valley of Tears. Mary was tired. Finally, they reached the holy place called Bethel. Joseph, realising the tiredness of Mary started searching for a shelter. But because of multitude of guests they were rejected by all. After a great difficulty he could be able to find a shelter at stable close to house. Anna laid Mary on a bed of straw. The moment of delivery was at hand. Anna, who was old and experienced, became the self-appointed physician.

Canto VII *Bhagavato Yeśoravatāraḥ* (The Birth of Jesus)

The earth is immersed in the ocean of dense darkness along with the old era. Joseph along with others was waiting outside the stable. They suddenly heard the sweet sound of a child's cry. Joseph, being impatient rushed inside and saw the 'Hope of the World'. Again and again he looked at the child, who illuminated the whole room with his luster. Joseph, the holy sage also experienced supreme bliss. Some old men came there and asked about the new-born child. They were shepherds. The sage informed them about the birth of Lord Christ. The shepherds danced and sang the glory of God. Mary and her husband were very happy to have a son, the 'Son of God'.

Canto VIII *Devālayasamarpaṇam* (The Presentation in the Temple)

One day John, the best friend of Joseph came to Bethlehem to see the child. He asked about the circumcision ritual for the child. Joseph replied that though the child is a son of God, he has to obey human laws. In the same way, his mother, though being a mother of God, has to perform the purification rite after delivery. On the eighth day the child was given the name Jesus- savior as the angel told them before the child's birth. Then, the carpenter went to Jerusalem with his relatives to dedicate the child in the temple. There they saw the sage Zacharias and Elizabeth, with their son John. Joseph congratulated the sage. Joseph also met Samuel at the temple. At that moment the venerable sage Simeon arrived from inside the temple. The prophet took the child in his arms with joy and exclaimed -'Today I have seen my saviour'. He returned the child and loudly sung thanksgiving songs to the lord. He says to Mary that - 'this child will be the cause of the rise and fall of many in Israel'. After some time the great sage Simeon peacefully passed away of his own will.

Canto IX *Vidvadāgamanam Herodakṛtam Śiśumāraṇam ca* (The arrival of the Magi, The slaughter of the Innocents)

Herod, the king of Judea, being suspicious by nature killed his rivals and even his father-in-law, sons, wife and relatives. The news that a king would be born for the deliverance of the people of Israel, made him suspicious and impatient. From his own spies he heard about the sage Zacharias and Prophet Simeon's prophecy concerning future events and also about the testimony of old prophetess Anna. Herod was favourite to Roman emperor for he collected excessive tax by force from the people. He just could not believe that a small child will take his place in future. He sent many spies to search that child. Three wise men from East came to his palace in search of a brilliant star. They said that this child indicates the birth of a child here. Hearing this Herod became fearful. They informed the king that the birth place of the child is Bethlehem. The king dismissed all his astronomers who could not become successful in finding out the birth place.

The wise men entered the house, seeing the child knelt down on the ground and worshipped Him. They offered some gifts. Then they returned by a secret path, following a warning given to them in a dream. That night the angel appeared in dream to carpenter and said to leave Bethlehem immediately and advised to go to Mizraim (Egypt), for the king is eager to kill the child. Joseph along with the child and his mother fled to Mizraim in night by secret path.

Thus being cheated by the wise men, Herod was inflamed with rage and ordered his soldiers to kill all the male children of two years of age and less born in Bethlehem. The next day the cruel royal troops slaughtered the children. That Monarch at last passed away, suffocated by various diseases. The messenger of God again appeared in dream to the carpenter and said to take the child to the land of Israel. But again hearing about Archilaus, the son of Herod became the new king, the carpenter went back to Nazareth. The prophets called the child "Nazarene".

Canto X *Yeśoḥ Śaiśavam* (The childhood of Jesus)

The carpenter living in the town Nazareth had taken the vow of strict celibacy. The divine child Jesus grew up, strong in spirit and filled with wisdom. By thoughtfulness and quick understanding of Divine child, His parents became very happy. The boy was also given the teachings of sacred scriptures by His father. He also heard from the merchants of east about Hindu and Bauddha religious texts. Joseph spoke to his beloved about their son's keenness of senses and his love for all creatures. But Mary remained silent. The child Jesus fully observed the laws enjoined on His community. He never ate impure food, daily sang the psalms, recited the prescribed prayers and took delight in religious festivities. He disliked the Jewish leaders, who are hypocritical and avaricious. He also felt pity for the slaughtering of Galileeans by the Romans. One day Jesus, who was twelve years old went to the temple of Jerusalem with his family to see the feast of the Passover. In the temple he felt pity for the animals being sacrificed. He didn't like the profit making business of priests. The boy entered the Holy place and listened the interpretations of Law. He also asked questions to the priests and keep them all spell-bound to answer. This went on for days. Then the boy went back with His parents and reached Nazareth.

Canto XI *Snāpakayohanasyāgamaḥ* (The coming of John and Baptist)

Eighteen years passed away. In the mean time the sage Joseph, the light of Nazareth also passed away. At the age of 30 Jesus realized that the time had come to abandon home and to go out to proclaim His *dharma*- duties. Then suddenly in the wilderness sage John, the son of Zacharias, in the world-famous writings of the sage Isaias says - "prepare the way of the Lord." All looked at this messenger of Lord with astonishment. He was the son of Zacharia, known as John, the Baptist, and the forerunner of the son of God. People of neighbourhood of Jerusalem, Jordan and most of the Jewish people gathered there to receive baptism at his hands. He advised people to share things with other needed, advised the tax-collector not to exploit people, told soldiers not to molest the innocents. He also announced the gospel to the people. The next day John says - "This is He of whom I said a Great one is coming after me. He is my master. The son of God Jesus, though sinless underwent the rite of baptism. The gates of Heaven opened for him." Suddenly from Heaven a divine voice heard saying - "Behold my dear son, in whom I am well pleased." By this testimony people understand that the sage was sent by God and that Jesus was the long-expected Saviour predicted by the celebrated sages in their writings.

Canto XII *Piśācasya pralobhanam yeśoḥ śiṣyavaraṇam ca* (The Temptation, the call of the Disciples)

Jesus, after being baptized, observed severe penance for forty days. When he was exhausted with penance, there appeared devil laughing at Him. He said to Jesus - "if you are the son of God, command these stones to become loaves of bread." The crafty devil took Jesus to a very high mountain, showed him all the kingdoms of the world and told to worship him. But Jesus denied that and then the angels came and ministered to the

Lord. One day John, the Baptist saw the Lord going alone at some distance. He ordered his disciples to behold the Lord. Both of them, John and Andrew followed Him and spent the night in His company. Andrew brought his brother Simon to the Master. The Master gave him a new name Peter. The next day Jesus saw the fisherman Philip and said him to follow. Then Philip called Nathaniel, told to see the Christ, Jesus of Nazareth. While walking along the shore of the sea of Galice, Jesus saw Peter and Andrew holding net to catch fish. Jesus stopped them and told to follow Him. After that Jacob and John, two sons of Zebedee also followed Him. During that time the king Herod Antiphas abandoned his virtuous wife and took his brother's wife Herodia and made that wicked lady his queen. The fickle minded king who was denounced by John, the Baptist for taking his brother's wife cast the brave ascetic into prison.

Canto XIII *Vivāhotsave Bhagavataḥ prathamādbhutam* (The marriage feast at Cana and the first Miracle)

There was a marriage celebration at Christ's mother's relative's house in the village Cana in the province of Galilee. Mary, Christ's mother was busy attending all the affairs in the house. Jesus with his disciples was invited to the marriage. Many invited and uninvited guests were gathered there to see the Lord, the great teacher from Nazareth.

Jesus astonished the people by his miracle of turning simple water into wine. Then hearing about the imprisonment of John, Jesus left Nazareth and went to Caphernaum, a town on the sea coast. There also He preached the people. Then Jesus went to the various places of Galilee and taught the people in the Synagogues. He cured people suffering from epilepsy and different diseases. Everywhere great crowds followed him. He returned to Nazareth, stayed there for few days. On a Sabbath day, he went to the Synagogue and read the book of Isaias, while the learned men sat listening. People applauded him and they were astonished at the words of Jesus. But some members of the Synagogue rose up in wrath by this act of Jesus. They put him out of the town and led him to the brow of the hill. The Jews wanted to through him down from the top of the hill but Jesus managed to disappear.

Canto XIV *Samariyāṅganāvṛttāntaḥ* (Jesus and the Samaritan woman)

After being rejected by the Pharisees, the Master departed for Galilee with his five disciples. They were passing through the country called Samaria. The Jews and the Samaritans were not conversing with each other. The disciples were worried and impatient. In the province of Samaria there was Jacob's well. The Master sat near that well on a stone slab in meditation posture. The disciples went to town to bring some food. During that time a Samaritan woman came to the well to draw water. The Master said her to give water. The woman could easily identify him as Jews. She knew that any kind of dealing with Jews was forbidden. The Master promised her that whoever drinks the water that I shall give, will never again have thrust. The Master then disclosed her past having five husbands and now with whom she has relation is not her husband. The woman could identify that he is a prophet. Jesus revealed himself as Christ before her. The disciples returned and saw Jesus's unusual conversation with woman. The woman immediately ran up to the town and called other people to show them Christ. Many Samaritans believed Him. At their request Jesus stayed in Samaria for two days. Here Jesus with his disciples spread among the people the message of tolerance and love.

Canto XV *Adbhutaparaṁparā* (Jesus works many Miracles)

Jesus accompanied by five disciples went to Galilee. In the village of Cana when He was surrounded by crowd a man came to Him. From his coat and pinned medals over it he appeared as an official of the court. He bowed before Jesus and requested him to cure his ill son. Jesus said him to go to home and see that his son is cured. On the way of returning home his servants informed him about son's good health. This news of miracle spread everywhere. There was a great feast of the Jews at Jerusalem. The Master along with His disciples went there. Near the gate called sheep-gate, there was a pool which had five porticos. It was believed that some messengers from heaven descended into the pool and disturbed the water and whoever dived first after shaking of the water will be healed of ailments. There was a big crowd of deceased. Jesus felt pity for a man attacked by a severe disease. He told him-"rise up, take your pallet and go home". It was quite surprising for others to see that person walk in. They all wanted to see Jesus but He disappeared among the crowd. Once in the temple, Jesus met that person again. That man who was scared of Jewish priests saw them Jesus. As Jewish priests were indignant and tried to kill Him, Jesus said that - "the son can do nothing of his own accord, but only what He sees the Father doing." He then went to the shore of the Lake Tiberias and many people who were witnessed to his miracles followed Him. Climbing the hill, Jesus, looking at the crowd said to Philip that we have got bread to feed these people. He was about to perform miracle. He told five thousand people to sit down. Jesus took the five loaves of bread and two fishes, looked at the heavenward and feed to all people. Seeing this miracle they all believed Him as prophet. Perceiving that people were crazy to make Him king, Jesus quickly withdrew from there. In the evening the disciples got into a boat to cross the sea. The strong wind was blowing and the sea became violent. The Master didn't accompany them. But when they crossed four miles in the sea they saw the Master coming towards them walking on the sea. They all reached the town of Caphernaum on the bank of the Lake Tiberias.

Canto XVI *Anyānyadbhutāni dvādaśaśiṣyavaraṇam ca* (More miracles, the selection of the Apostles)

In the town Caphernaum, Jesus was staying with His disciples. There, a man suffering from leprosy came and requested Jesus to cure him. Jesus touched him and all of a sudden leprosy disappeared. The news immediately spread everywhere. Many people rushed to Jesus to get cured. Jesus was preaching *Dharma* to people in one house. Many lawyers and Pharisees had gathered there. There some people brought one paralytic in a cot. Jesus commands him- "Arise, take up your pallet and go." Immediately he arose. The people who were there got astonished seeing this miracle. Jesus came out of that gathering and saw a tax-collector named Levi. Jesus told him to follow. He arranged for a fast in his house in honour of the Master. The Pharisees and others angrily said Jesus why does He eat with sinners. Jesus replied - "I have not come here to save the righteous but the sinners through repentance".

On a Sabbath day, while Jesus was sitting in the synagogue, there came a man with withered hand. The Pharisees and others were eager to see what Jesus can do for him. Jesus restored his hand. They all got frightened by seeing this miracle. Then Jesus went to a mountain cave and kept vigil the whole night in prayer. The next day He chose twelve disciples named - Simon, Peter, his brother Andrew, Philip, Jacob, John, Bartholomew, Mathew, and Thomas Simon called Zealot, James, Judas and Judas, the betrayer. These twelve disciples were given the title Apostles and were appointed by Jesus to proclaim His message among the people. Many people from the cities of Judea and the other coastal areas and from Jerusalem came to hear Jesus or to get them cured by Jesus.

Canto XVII *Giriprabhāṣaṇam*-1 (The Sermon on the Mount-I)

When Jesus saw people follow Him to hear His words of wisdom, He went up to the mountain and sitting down there with His disciples began to speak. The entire act comprises of Jesus's teaching of love, tolerance, forgiveness etc.

Canto XVIII *Giriprabhāṣaṇam*-2 (The Sermon on the Mount-II)

The crowd showed more and more interests in the Sermon on the Mount, which flowed from the mouth of the Master. He continued to speak and explained the crowd the importance of natural and spiritual matters in the life. He advised people to remain away from the materialistic achievements. When the Master was expounding the famous eightfold Beatitudes, the mountain caves repeated it by sweet echoes. The sun having drunk the sweet sermon of love calmed down and entered a cave by the side of the setting mountain.

Canto XIX *Snāpakayohanasya vadhaḥ* (The Execution of John, the Baptist)

Everyone secretly censured the evil deed of carrying away brother's wife by the king Herod but no one showed courage to oppose, except the Baptist. The king repeatedly requested the Baptist to withdraw his words of censure but he could not become successful. He imprisoned the brave sage. He begs his own helpless prisoner to release him from censure. Many high officials were invited on the birthday of the king. All were intoxicated and there appeared a girl in the noisy assembly. She was the daughter of queen Herodia. By her superb dance and unique beauty she caught the attention of everybody. Everything of her was maddening to king Herod. The king told her to ask for anything in return. The girl following her crooked mother's advice asked for the head of the Baptist John. The king immediately called the executioner and commands him to fulfill her desire. The executioner walked towards the prison, stood there hesitatingly for a while. But he has to follow the order of his master. He cut the head of the sage with the single stroke of sword. The sage performed the last baptism to the sword in his own blood. The girl handed over the head to her mother. That lady caused the tongue of the dead ascetic pierced by the needle and the body to be thrown into a pit. The disciple when heard this terrible news, went there and buried the body in the cemetery. Jesus when heard about this murder went secretly in a boat to a solitary place. The king Herod heard about the miraculous history of Jesus and got struck with fear.

Canto XX *Magdalanāyāstailābhiṣekaḥ* (The story of Mary Magdalene)

A very rich man Simon, one of the leaders of the Pharisees invited Jesus to his house for dinner with a view to allure the Lord by his luxurious house. He understood Simon's unbridled pride. Simon didn't observe the common rites of welcoming a guest. While taking dinner, Simon saw Lord a beautiful woman. She, a prostitute from the town entered the house and weep profusely before master. Her husband, a lawyer was so jealous that he closely imprisoned her whenever he left home. She fled with a gay person and reached the prosperous town of Magdala. There, she became a prostitute. She heard about the divine words of Master.

She repented for her sinful past and now has come to worship the Lord. Her drops of tears expressed her agony seeing the master of the house looked at her angrily. The Master said to the master of house that you had no curtsey to offer water for my feet but this woman washed my feet with her tears. This woman kissed me and anointed my feet with fragrant ointment. But the Master of the house didn't perform these rituals. Hence Jesus forgave her sins. Jesus left that place. Then Jesus moved to many villages followed by twelve disciples and preached about the kingdom of heaven and healed many people. The Master preached the words of God to people through some interesting parables.

One day the Master along with his disciples got into a boat to cross the lake. When they reached in the middle of the lake, while the master was sleeping, suddenly storm came and shook the lake. The boat whirled round in the lake. The Lord awoke and rebuked the wind and the waves. All of them were saved. When the Lord returned to the shore of the lake, the crowd welcomed him. There also came Jairus, the ruler of the Synagogue. He requested Jesus to come to his house to save his twelve years old ill daughter. The master was proceeding to his house; there came a woman who was suffering from a flaw of blood for a quite long time. She touched the fringe of the Master's garment and was immediately cured.

Suddenly, someone came and said to Jairus that your daughter is dead. But Master said her parents that not to weep, she is not dead, she is sleeping. He reached to the girl and saw her dead body decorated for the funeral. Holding her hand the Master said - "child arise." Immediately her spirit returned. Jesus then went out of the house.

Canto XXI *Sādhoḥ samarīyasya dṛṣṭāntaḥ* (The Parable of the Good Samaritan)

Jesus gave his twelve disciples the power to cure all diseases and sent them to preach the kingdom of God. He also said them about possibility of hardness from people for his name's sake. They may be killed mercilessly. He advised them not to fear for those who kill the body. Following the advice of the Master the disciples started traveling from village to village, preached the gospel. On their return they told Jesus about the good feelings of people for him. Jesus ordered Peter not to tell people about the Christ.

One day Jesus along with Peter, Jacob and John went up a mountain to offer a prayer. While Jesus was praying His face suddenly assumed another form, shone like the Sun and His garments became bright and white. Peter and others witnessed that grand miracle.

They all got astonished seeing the transfigured Jesus. Two men, Moses and Elijah, ancestors approached Jesus and held conversation with Him. At that moment a cloud came and hid them from the view of Peter and others. Suddenly a deep voice emerged from the sky - "He is our dear son, in whom we are well pleased. Listen to his words". Peter and others got frightened and fell down. Then Jesus came to them and said - "don't frightened, arise!" They saw there none except Jesus. Jesus told them to keep this vision a secret till the day of his resurrection.

Then many people come to Jesus and asked various questions about heaven, God, eternal life etc. Jesus gave satisfactory answers. He also narrated beautiful parable concerning love for neighbours. The tribute paid by the master to Samaritan, who ought to be stunned, was not relished by some of the Pharisees. Again Jesus narrated another parable on the virtue of forgiveness.

Canto XXII *Durvyayinaḥ sutasya kathā* (The Prodigal Son)

Jesus became very favourable to people because of expounding eternal truth through interesting parables. The Pharisees were not happy seeing sinners followed him. Jesus said that there will be more rejoicing in heaven over the sinner who repents, than over many righteous men. The Master then told the parable of the prodigal son, who has attained world fame because of the fine sentiments expressed and its poetic excellence. When the disciples and other people heard this story bearing on the mercy of God, told by the Son of God, their hearts were filled with delight. Looking at their eagerness to know more, the master told them another story to illustrate the character of hypocrites.

Canto XXIII *Gaṇikāvṛttāntaḥ* (The woman taken in Adultery)

Once when master was in the temple, many people gathered there to hear his lecture. The Pharisees and others forcibly brought there a certain woman who was shivering with fear and shame. She had covered her face with both hands. The persons who brought her there said to master that this woman is caught in the act of adulterous. Moses commands that adulterous women be stoned to death. Jesus said them that - "let one who is without sin among you, be the first to throw a stone at her". All of them dropping the stones went their way. Thus defeated by the master, the enemies tried to find out loophole to entrap him in their net. Some proud Pharisees trying to entrap Master, said - "Lord, is it lawful not to pay tax to Caesar" ?

The Master said - Give to Caesar whatever belongs to Caesar and to God whatever belongs to God. The master departed for some place. He saw a blind beggar. The disciples asked about whose sin it was, either beggar's or his parent's because of which this man born blind. Jesus didn't agree to it. He anointed the blind man's eyes with clay and commanded him to wash his face in the pool of Siloam. By doing this he got his eyesight back. The Pharisees became angry at the act of Jesus and called the parents of blind man to enquire certain matters. While looking at their good feelings for Jesus they said Jesus does not observe the Sabbath, He is a sinner. But that man said that any one who opened the eyes of one born blind is surely from God. The Pharisees being enraged by his answer cast him out.

Once at the time of Feast of Dedication in the temple of Jerusalem, many Jews told Jesus that if you are the Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus replied - "you do not believe my words. The works that I do bear witness to me. I do these works in my father's name and not of my own will. Both the father and I are one. The father is in me and I am in the father".

Considering it a blasphemy, they took up stones to stone Him. But none could dare to attack Him. Then Jesus without fear escaped from that place.

Canto XXIV *Lāsarasya punarujjīvanam* (The Raising of Lazarus)

The Master went on the bank of Jordan, where John used to baptize, and stayed there. At that time Lazarus, a resident of the village of Bethany fell ill. His two sisters Mary and Martha quickly sent a messenger to the Master and informed about his illness. Jesus told the messenger that this illness is not unto death. Jesus expressed his desire to go Judea to see Lazarus, but his disciples informed him about Jews seeking to kill Jesus. Jesus replied to his worried disciples that Lazarus is dead. When Jesus went his house with his disciples Lazarus had already been in the tomb for four days. Many Jews consoled the two sisters of Lazarus. Hearing that Jesus was coming, Martha went to him and said that I believe that you are the Christ, the son of God. Mary also fell down at his feet. The Jews who had gathered to console them followed her. Jesus, going to the tomb, commanded them to remove at once the stone at its entrance. Jesus prayed to God and cried in loud voice - Lazarus! Come out! And to the surprise of everybody the dead man came out of the tomb. The two sisters were very happy to get their brother alive.

Canto XXV *Yeśorjaitrayātrā* (The Triumphant entry into Jerusalem)

The chief priests and the leaders of the Pharisees called the assembly to decide how to impose restrictions on Jesus's actions. They had the fear in their mind that when Romans will come to know about Him, they will be deprived of their position and Jesus, the son of the carpenter will be installed in the country of Judea. Then Caiphans, a great High Priest suggested to the assembly that 'will it not be better for us that one person should die than that a whole people? From that day the indignant leaders of the Jews met continuously secretly to make a plan how to put to death Jesus by fraud. Jesus, knowing the attempt of the Priests to kill Him ceased to move among the Jews and went to a place near the wilderness.

Once, on the traditional festival of the Jews called the Pasch, many believers desirous of purification flowed every day to Jerusalem. The chiefs of the Jews, who were determined to murder the Master thought that Jesus will come to preach during the festival. One day before the festival the master went to the village of Bethany and stayed there with His disciples, where Lazarus was raised from the tomb. Martha and Mary greeted Him and disciples. Many Jews also crowded into Jerusalem to see Him and Lazarus. Then the Lord ordered his two disciples to go into the village to untie the colt and bring it to Him. They brought it to the Master. The Master sat upon it and rode towards town. Many followed the Master and praised Him like a king. His disciples also sang in praise of the Son of God. When Jesus reached near the city He expressed His worries that how peace will be brought about. Jesus said that haughty enemies will destroy you and your children.

As Lord entered the Temple, He saw buying and selling going on therein. Being angry He threw out all merchants from the temple. He thundered. It is written: 'My house shall be known as house of prayer, but you made it a den of thieves.'

Angrily expelling the merchants from the temple, the Master calmly sat down. Again He told the congregation a parable as before, for their enlightenment. The priests perceived that He told the parable referring to them. But they feared the people and did not dare to lay hands on Him. He then saw the rich putting their gifts in the treasury. He also saw a poor widow putting two small coins. Jesus said that this widow has contributed more because her coins were not abandoned but its all that she had. The scribes and Pharisees and others, out of fear of the people, did not at all attempt to seize Jesus by force but tried to catch by fraud and take him to governor.

Canto XXVI *Yugāntasya Lakṣaṇāni* (The End of the World)

Some of the disciples appreciated the beauty of the highly decorative temple. The Master said: "The time will soon come when there will not be any stone in this temple". The temple of Jerusalem would be forsaken and desolate. The Master said to his disciples to be aware of hypocrites who want to deceive you. All that is foretold by the prophets must take place. The sign of the end of the world can be seen. The nation will rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom. There will be pestilence, famine and earthquakes in every place. Men will deliver you to tribulation and put you to death. False prophets will arise and lead men astray. When you see before you the dreadful sacrilege in the holy place, spoken of by the prophet Daniel, then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains and live there free from anxiety. Many pregnant women and dependants will become a prey to tribulations. You must not believe in fraud, for false Christ and false prophets will arise.

After the tribulations of those days, the sun will be darkened and moon will not give its light and stars will fall from heaven. The powers of heaven will be shaken and immediately will appear the sign of the son of man in heaven coming with glory on the clouds of heaven. He will send out his messengers with a trumpet call to all quarters. In the days of Noah the flood came all of a sudden, and the son of man will appear. Then Jesus narrates the parable of bride and bridegroom. Moreover, He said: When the son of man comes with great power and in his glory, with all the angels of heaven, He will sit on his divine throne and all nations will be gathered before him. He will divide and separate the sheep from the goats. He will place the sheep on his right and goats on his left and the king, will say to those on his right - come to me, o blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you. Then looking at those on the left he will say angrily- Depart from my presence, you accursed! And go into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. The wicked men will go away into eternal punishment, and the righteous, likewise, into a life of eternal bliss.

Thus the Lord spoke in the valley of the mountain to his eager followers, concerning the End of the World and the Last Judgment.

Canto XXVII *Antimabhojanam* (The Last Supper)

After finishing the discourse, the Teacher of the World called the disciples and said that on the feast of Passover the Son of Man will be crucified. Caiphas, the chief priest called to his house many priests and scribes. He discussed with his followers the cunning device to kill Jesus in secret. The authorities approached one of the disciples who were not loyal to the Master in order to identify the Master in night. Judas made an agreement with them. They offered him thirty pieces of silver as a price for betraying the Master. The Lord sent two disciples to the town where a man carrying a pitcher full of water. He told them to follow that man and to enter the well-furnished upper house and to prepare supper for them. The disciples did everything as per the Master's order. In the evening the Master came with twelve disciples and sat for supper. Then Jesus rose up, tied a towel around His waist and poured water into a basin. He began to wash the feet of the disciples in the water and to wipe them with towel and came to Simon Peter. Peter said "Master, do you wash my feet?" To this Jesus replied "A servant is not greater than Master; nor is he who is sent greater than he who sends him. Learn these things and act accordingly"

Then Jesus looked around and thoughtfully said: "One of you who eat the bread with me will betray me, his Master into the hands of the enemies". He also said: "Had that man not been born in this world, it would have been better for him." The disciples looked at each other with doubt in their mind. Jesus then said: "It is that disciple to whom I shall give this morsel of bread when I have dipped it in the soup, who is my betrayer". He gave the bread to Judas and said "what you are going to do, do quickly" Judas quickly went out. Jesus then said to his disciples that He is with them for a little time and he is going where they cannot go. But Peter asked Him where He is going? Lord did not say anything but to confirm His disciples in faith, He said: "Always have firm belief in God and in me also. I am the way, the Truth and the Life. Man goes to the Father only through me and in no other way. If you know me you will know Father Afterwards the Father will send to you the Holy Spirit in my name and that Holy Spirit will remind you whatever I have spoken to you. You love one another even as I loved you. A little while, you will not see me and you will lament but your sorrow will turn into joy. Now the hour has come when you will be scattered, and will fly to your homes, leaving me alone on the way. But the Father is with me. I have overcome the world."

Canto XXVIII *Gadasīmanyārāme yeśoryātanā* (The Agony in the Garden)

Having addressed the last words of consolation the merciful Lord went to the garden called Gethsemne, along with his followers to pray. He said to his disciples that the time is at hand when the Son of Man is to be betrayed into the hands of his enemies. He told His disciples to follow Him. At that time the betrayer Judas came with soldiers who were armed with swords and cudgels. Judas has given the sign that whom I kiss is Jesus. Foreseeing all these to happen the Master came out and told them I am Jesus and all the men fell on the ground. Then the wicked one approached the Master to kiss. Jesus said that your name would forever be a synonym for betrayal. Then Jesus said: ' This is the hour of the power of darkness'. The soldiers came forward and quickly seized Him. Seeing this, Peter quickly cut the ear of the servant of the High Priest. The Master checked his impulsive disciple. He was then led to the house of the high priest while His frightened disciples fled abandoning the Master. But the devoted chief disciple Peter followed them at a distance to observe the movements of the enemies. To hide himself from the sight of the enemies he sat down amidst the people around the fire to warm themselves. But from his accent and the appearance people recognise him as His disciple and his Galileean birth. The Master, after having been beaten and bound, was being led to the house of Caiphas. On the way he turned His face and mercifully glanced at Peter. Peter being tormented by severe remorse immediately went out. The enemies took Jesus to the house of Caiphas, the high priest of Jews, who formerly counselled to do away with Jesus. The High priest repeatedly asked Him questions about His teaching. But the Master replied that there is nothing secret about it. I have openly spoken it to the people. You may ask them. A soldier suddenly struck Him on the cheek for answering the high priest in insolent manner. The Pharisees along with the High Priest and others tried their best to produce witnesses against Him but they did not succeed. Then some people came forward with false testimony concerning the statement of Master that 'I will destroy this Temple and will build another in three days.' The High Priest asked Jesus ' Tell me, are you the Son of God? To this Jesus said 'I am. Moreover, you will clearly see the Son of Man coming on the clouds, seated at the right hand of the Supreme Being'.

At once Caiphas said what further witness do we need ? We have clearly heard the blasphemy. He asked the members about their decision. All in one voice demanded for his death. The wicked, murderous soldiers spat on the holy face and on the sacred body and hit with their fists. Jesus patiently suffered all the attacks of the soldiers. The enemies led the Lord escorted by soldiers to the governor.

Canto XXIX *Yūdāsasya prāṇatyāgaḥ* (The End of Judas)

After betraying the Saviour of the world, Jesus, Judas left the dinner hall and hurriedly went out to fulfill his agreement. For thirty pieces of silver he sold his Master like a slave. The Master also knew about the devil working in him. That is why once He said that one of you will betray me. Judas perhaps has not thought of passing of death sentence on his Master. He was thinking that the enemies will at the most imprisoned the Master and dared to betray Him. Later on he repented and left the assembly. Returning the thirty pieces of silver he said that I have committed a grievous sin. He threw away the silver pieces and went out. He wandered through the bank of the Cedron brook and through the mountain path like a mad. He remembered the wonderful three years which he had passed in the company of the Master. He remembered the incident when he heard His sermon on the kingdom of God, witnessed the healing of the sick and many miracles performed by the Master. All the past incidents burst forth in his heart. Treading through the densely path he reached a marshy place. He cursed the Jewish priests who tempted him and cursed his own birth. Quickly taking a rope and tying a knot with the long tree he hanged himself to death. Thus Judas departed from the world before his Master. The priests collected those thirty pieces of silver thrown by Judas. Thinking that the blood money can never be put in the temple they purchased the potter's field, which came to be known as the "Field of Blood". The statement of the Master sheds light on this matter and said that the death of the Son of Man was predetermined by God.

Canto XXX *Pīlātasya vicāro nirṇayaśca* (Pilate Tries and Sentences Jesus)

Pilate, the governor though cruel by nature was an expert in law. He had heard about the wonderful life of Jesus and also the hostility the Jews bore towards Him. One day early in the morning, he was awakened and saw a huge crowd of people. There were soldiers with swords and cudgels and forcibly leading Jesus whom they were mocking, insulting and beating with their fists. Pilate stepped down to meet them and asked them about the charge they have made against Jesus. The governor seeing the prisoner who appeared divine and calm was struck with astonishment and compassion. The governor asked certain questions to Jesus. To these questions Jesus said: 'My kingship is not of this world. I have come here to witness the truth. Everyone who is attached to truth hears my words. The governor came out and said that 'I found no crime in this man'. The people exhibited their discontentment. Again they put some charges and said that this man stirs up people of this country and goes about preaching from Galilee even to this place and by proclaiming himself as a king and forbids people by paying tribute to Caesar. When Pilate heard the name Galilee he was glad for this province belonged to Herod and the two rulers were for long at enmity with each other. Handing over Jesus to Herod will certainly bring the friendship between the two kings. Pilate handed over Jesus to Herod. Herod desirous of seeing Jesus and witness some miracles, asked many questions to Jesus.

But Jesus answered him only with silence. The king sent Him back to Pilate. Christ brings enemies together and makes them friends.

Seeing Jesus, who had come back Pilate, said to crowd that not Herod and not even myself find any guilt in Him. Nothing deserving of death has been done by Him, I will therefore chastise Him and release Him. But the crowd cried out aloud to crucify Jesus. But desirous to release Jesus He was thinking for some plan. At that time his servant came with the letter of his wife Claudia, the grand-daughter of Caesar by marrying whom Pilate obtained the governorship. Claudia requested Pilate to release Jesus. Having read her letter Pilate again made his mind to release Jesus.

He tried to convince the people that it is a custom to release a prisoner on the feast of the Passover. He asked people that there is Barabbas also in the prison,(the priest Samuel) and which of these two do you want to release? In one voice they said to release Barabbas and to crucify Jesus. When Pilate saw the Master who was beaten with whips, who was bathed in blood and who bore a crown of thorns, he exclaimed: "Behold the man and crucify yourself". Pilate when heard the word of Son of God, he asked Jesus: "where are you from?" Jesus kept silence. To this Pilate said Him that I have power to kill you. Jesus said: "You would have no power over me unless it had been given you from above. Therefore the man who delivered me into your hands has the greater sin." Hearing this Pilate again tried to release Him. But the crowd loudly cried and said him that if you release him you are a no friend of Caesar, for everyone who makes himself a king is an enemy of Caesar. He being threatened by people thought once again. Pilate realized that if he release Jesus, a rival of Caesar, he will loose his position. Ultimately he decided, though reluctantly, to hand over Jesus to them. The crowd shouted cheers of victory.

Pilate released Barabbas from the prison. He saw a lady standing at a distance surrounded by her women friends. In the midst of the two Marys, Mary Magdalene and Mary of Bethany, Barabbas recognized Mary, the wife of his old friend Joseph and mother of Jesus. She too saw him and recognized him as Samuel.

Canto XXXI *Yeśoḥ krūśāropaṇam* (The Crucifixion)

The Jews mocked Jesus, whose body was bathed in the blood and who had worn a crown of thorns. People started insulting Him. It was the custom that the instrument of torture should be borne by the victim. They put a cross on His shoulders. A procession of people was immediately formed. On either side of Jesus, walked two thieves who were also carrying their crosses. Due to the unbearable weight of the cross the Master fell down. At that time a man Simon by name belonging to the province of Cyrene came to raise

Jesus. At the moment he touched the cross he became immortal. Then many people including women followed Jesus with their crosses. One lady Veronica daringly wiped the blooded face of Jesus with a piece of cloth. Many women were beating their breasts and lamenting over Him. Jesus told them that the days will come when people will say that "blessed are the barren and the wombs that never bore and breasts that never gave suck." His words suggest the terrible calamity that is going to befall on the people of Jerusalem. The city will be demolished by the powerful Roman Emperor. Then they dragged the Master and the other two to the hill 'Skull' (Golgotha) then they crucified Jesus and the two thieves and put inscriptions above them. Jesus prayed "father, forgive their sins, for they do not know what they are doing due to ignorance". One of the crucified at his left said to save Himself and all if he is the Christ. The other people scorned Him to save himself. Near the cross were standing Mary, mother of Jesus, Magdalene and others. There was darkness over the whole earth when Jesus hung on the cross. At the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice "O my God! Why have you forsaken me?" Jesus could see that all that has been predicted by the sages is going to be true. Then Master said "I thirst". One man, filling a sponge with vinegar and tying it fast on a stick, raised it up to His face. Having tasted that sour liquid and realized that all that had been said by the sages in ancient times had been fulfilled, He cried: "It is finished". Then Jesus said: "Father, into your hands I commit my spirit". He gave up His spirit.

At that very moment the curtain in the temple got torn in two pieces, the earth shook, rocks split, tombs get opened, bodies of saints form the tombs wandered about. Looking these wonders the soldiers cried "Surely this man was the Son of God". A certain soldier pierced the side of the Master with his lance. Instantly from that wound gushed forth water and blood. Water is the symbol of resurrection and blood that of death. Joseph, a rich man from Arimathea, who was a disciple of Jesus in secret asked Pilate to hand over the body of Jesus. Joseph placed the body in the lap of the Mother. Joseph anointed the body with scented ointment, wrapped it in a winding cloth and placed it in a newly built tomb. Next day, the Jewish priests went to the place and sealed the tomb and placed guard. They had the fear that Jesus will rise up from the tomb within three days as per His own words. The resurrection of Jesus was foreseen by His enemies.

Canto XXXII *Yeśorutthānam* (The Resurrection of Jesus)

Early morning after the Sabbath, Mary Magdalene along with her friends went to visit the tomb of the Lord. Just before the coming of those ladies the earthquake took place and the stone was removed from the tomb. The angel sat on the stone and fled instantly. Mary seeing the tomb open called Peter and John. They entered the tomb and see that the tomb was empty. The disciples returned from the tomb. All the women entered in and saw a superhuman before them for the first time. To these terrified women he said not to be afraid of him because he is Jesus who was crucified and has now arisen. He also told them to inform about him to his disciples. Mary who later came there saw two angels standing near the spot. She inquired about his Master. The Master revealed before her, his true form. He then told her to inform his disciples about ascension to the father. Immediately Mary informed about Jesus to her friends but they do not believe her. In the mean time, the guards consulted priests about all happenings. The priests gave bribe to guards and told them to say people about Jesus's stolen away by his disciples. On that day, two disciples were going to the village called Emmaus. They were conversing the astonished recent story of Lord. Jesus told them that Jesus has entered His eternal glory. He then explained them all that has been written in the scriptures concerning the Son of God, beginning with the writings of Moses and of the later sages. When they recognized Jesus he disappeared from there. The two disciples reaching to Jerusalem narrated the miracle to their fellow-disciples. At that time there appeared Jesus and said that I am sending you into the world as the Father has sent me. The disciple named Thomas did not believe the news of the resurrection. He told that unless I see in His hands the prints of nails I will not believe. One day, Jesus appeared before him and convinced him of the event. To this event Jesus said: blessed are those who have not seen me and yet believe.

Canto XXXIII *Svargārohaṇam* (The Ascension)

Peter and other disciples (seven) were engaged in the fishing on the shore of the sea of Galilee. Getting into the boat they spent the entire night in the fishing but did not obtain even a single fish. When dawn came they saw a man standing on the shore but disciples could not recognize Him. Jesus told them to cast the net on the right side of the lake. On doing so they got abundance of fish. John and Peter recognized the Lord. They all reached to Him. Then Jesus distributed among them the fish and the bread. Peter three times professes his love for Lord. Then the eleven disciples gladly went to a Galilean hill assigned by the Master earlier. The Lord stood on the hill advised them to make all people His disciples by baptizing them in the name of the Trinity. He told them to teach people whatever he has commanded to them. He said " It is written that the Christ should suffer sorrow, die and rise on the third day. The Gospel of repentance for the removal of sin should be preached to all nations, beginning with Jerusalem." Saying this he led them up to Bithynia and lifting up His hands, gave them His last blessing. The Lord Jesus without abandoning His human form, now separated Himself from His disciples, and raising His eyes upwards and stretching forth His hands, soars up heavenwards and a curtain of clouds soon removes him from the range of their vision. At that time two angels appeared from the sky and told them that the Lod Jesus who has gone up to heaven will likewise come back again. Hearing these words of angels the disciples filled with the power of the holy spirit set out on their mission to proclaim the message of the lord throughout the world.

Sources and Deviations

Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri remarks:[4] "Although in narrating the story of the lord the author relies on the versions of the Gospels and some reputed biographies of Christ and is faithful to incidents as recorded there, yet he shows his freedom and imagination as a poet to introduce poetic elements which however do not dilute the authenticity of the narrative."

In this *Mahākāvya* the author has narrated the story of Jesus Christ without distorting the original story. He has followed the four *Gospels* in which the main story of Jesus is recorded. In some cases the incidents briefly indicated in one or two sentences in the *Gospels* have been elaborated into full cantos. For example, the betrothal of Mary to Joseph (canto I and II), the childhood of Jesus (canto X), the death of John, the Baptist (XIX) and the end of Judas, the betrayer (XXIX). In other cases, events not mentioned in the *Gospels* but not contrary to the biblical accounts have been added to give the story a poetic touch. The introduction of a friend to Joseph and the description of Mary in a highly poetic way in the first canto have led him to serve a little from the *Bible*.

Critical Appreciation

The *Kristubhāgavata* is one of the best *Mahākāvyas* of twentieth century. It fulfils all the characteristics of a *mahākāvya* that are given by the prominent rhetoricians like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Viśvanātha. P. C. Devassia has made commendable effort to compose one more *Bhāgavata* in the modern period of Sanskrit literature without violating the age old principles of the great epics. Undoubtedly his poem is unique and is distinctly different from old *Bhāgavata*. Although he has followed the line of *Bhāgavata*, he has not blindly followed the structure and techniques of presentation.

Rasa is the soul of poetry as rightly said by Viśvanātha and it gets revealed in the form of *ramaṇiyārtha*. So the good poets try their best for the proper presentation of *rasa* and they create scope for it by way of changing the theme or inserting some new elements in it. From the study of the present poem, it is clearly known that though there is a little scope for deviation in the theme, Devassia has tried his best to put life through his poetic talent in the theme based on the life of Jesus. The theme for the plot is taken from the four *Gospels*. The hero of the poem, Jesus, is a divine person. To propagate *dharma*, he abandoned the worldly life. Hence, of course, the main sentiment of the poem is *śānta.* The subordinate sentiment to it is *karuṇa* (pathos*)*. On many occasions, like the lamentation of women on seeing Jesus, who was dragged by the soldiers on the way to the place of crucifixion and the crucifixion of Jesus etc., *karuṇa* is delineated and manifested at its height. The sentiments of *vīra* and *aḍbhuta* are delineated in various descriptions of the divine and magical powers of Jesus. The nature of the theme does not provide any scope for other sentiments like *śṛṅgāra* and *hāsya,* which generally overpower other sentiments in a *mahākāvya.*

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[4] Shastri, Satya Vrat, "Modern Christian Literature in Sanskrit", *Devavanisuvasa*, Delhi, 1983, pp.313-325.

Keeping in view the sentiments, theme and descriptions of the present *kāvya,* the poet has used simple figures of speech like *Anuprāsa, Upamā, Utprekṣā* and *Arthāntaranyāsa* etc. Of these, the instances of *Arthāntaranyāsa* employed in this poem have a classical dignity and aesthetic appeal. The stanza :

घूत्कारैः केचिदत्युच्चैर्युवानस्तामुपाहसन् ।
अविनीता हि मोदन्ते प्रायः परपराभवे ।। (XXIII. 4)

Here the poet describes the reaction of some young man on seeing the woman taken in adultery.

In writing the poem the author adopts the model of Purāṇa and avoids pedantry and excessive ornamented language. Simple and lucid style of the poet has become an additional quality of this poem. The entire poem is endowed with the *guṇas* of *prasāda* and *saukumārya*, characterising the *Vaidarbhī* style.

The *Vaidarbhī* style, which is manifested from the lucidity, simplicity and structural beauty the poet has employed in the poem, has made the poem easily understandable and enjoyable. In some places, however it is observed that due to the extreme simplicity of the language the poem lacks in the poetic quality. While presenting the historical events the poet could creạte very few opportunities for the description of nature elements and female beauty etc.

The poet has twisted some of the foreign words into Sanskrit, to make them fit into Sanskrit diction. For example, David as Davida, Peter as Pitraḥ, Nazarene as Nāsarathīyaḥ, Nazareth as Nasarathaḥ, Daniel as Dāniyelaḥ, Jesus as Yeśu, Judas as Yudaśaḥ, Jacob as Yācobaḥ, the word *krusa* which can be formed from the root *krus* to cry, for the English cross.

There are total 1573 verses. Cantowise verses are as follows: I -45, II-36, III-52, IV-38, V-38, VI-40, VII-30, VIII-27 (smallest), IX-56, X-53, XI-31, XII-42, XIII-37, XIV-34, XV-57, XVI-41, XVII-52, XVIII-42, XIX-47, XX-77, XXI-87(biggest), XXII-41, XXIII-

56, XXIV-30, XXV-44, XXVI-67, XXVII-61, XXVIII-45, XXIX-39, XXX-81, XXXI-64, XXXII-48, XXXIII-35.

Almost all the cantos start with one small metre either *Anuṣṭubh* or *Upajāti* or *Indravajrā*, continue with it and end with different metre comparatively long like *Vasantatilakā*, *Śārdulavikrīḍita* etc. But in act XVII and XVIII there are lot of variations in the metre. Though *Kristubhāgavatam* is a *mahākāvya*, keeping in view its nature of *Purāṇa* the poet has mainly used small metres, particularly the *Anuṣṭubh*, which is found in Puranic texts.

Society and culture

The poem is evidently written from the point of view of a devout Christian and cultured Indian of the 20th century. Therefore, in narrating the story of Christ, the poet naturally introduces plenty of allusions to and parallelisms from the total cultural content he has absorbed.

From the *Kristubhāgavatam* we come to know about the people of Nazareth, a small village inhabited by a few hundred people at the time of Jesus. In those days, Palestine was occupied by the Roman army and the country continually suffered untold agony.

According to the Jewish custom in Nazareth, the bride was first betrothed and then married. Marriage usually took place at the bride's residence. At the wedding feast wine was served. At a wedding feast in the house of a relative of Jesus, he transformed water into wine.

At the time of Jesus there was the custom of circumcising a child on the eighth day after the birth. During the " Feast of the Passover" the priests received benefits from the visitors.

In those days the rule of the king was tyrannical. On hearing the news that a king of Jews was born, king Herod ordered the slaughter of all children up to the age of two. Nobody dared to question the actions of the king. There was the custom of stoning prostitutes to death. Society did not punish guilty men with the same severity.

Characterisation and Descriptions

Description plays an important role in any *mahākāvya* of Sanskrit, irrespective of classical and modern period. For, through this device a poet gets an opportunity to display the art of describing various things which he experiences in his life. The poet imbibes his own observations in accordance with the theme and thereby makes the poem effective and attractive. From the very beginning poets have fascination for the description of nature elements, social customs, characters etc. In *Kristubhāgavatam*, the poet Devassia seems to be less attracted towards the art of description. Perhaps the poet does not find it necessary in the poetry having a theme of a very high personality Jesus Christ, the God Himself. The description of spring season in canto IV could have been elaborated. Same is the case of character descriptions. As a result the poem ultimately becomes the Purāṇa-poetry dealing only with the events, miracles, myths, advices etc. However, some instances of beautiful illustrations are observed in the *Kristubhāgavatam*.

(I) Jesus

The hero of the poem is a divine personage. His divinity can be noticed from the beginning itself. Some of the verses describing his childhood are as under:

पुनः पुनः सोऽपिबदीक्षणाभ्यां स्मितोज्ज्वलास्यं प्रियदर्शनं तम् ।
स्वमातृहस्तेन सुवेष्टिताङ्गं स्वतेजसा दीपितगर्भगेहम् ॥ (VII. 7)

(Again and again he drank in with His eyes the child, who was endearing to look at, whose face was lit with a smile, who was closely embraced by the arm of the mother, and who illuminated the whole room with his luster.)

त्रिलोकसर्गावनसंलयाश्च ययोर्मृदुक्षेपणमात्रसाध्याः ।
ताभ्यां कृपास्यन्दिविलोचनाभ्यां प्रहर्षदं प्रेक्षकमानसानाम् ॥ (VII. 8)

(Who delighted the on-lookers by his eyes from which flowed a stream of mercy. A glance from those eyes was enough to cause the creation, protection and destruction of the world.)

यस्माद्गिरेः पार्श्वतटेषु पश्चाच्छुश्राव लोको नवधर्मसूक्तम् ।
तं चालयित्वाऽधरमीषदीषद्रुदन्तमालोक्य सतीं हसन्तम् ॥ (VII. 9)

(Who, moving His lips little by little, now cried and seeing the face of the lady, now smiled-lips from which the world was to hear later, on the slope of the mountain, the New Gospel of *Dharma*.)

यस्याद्भुतस्पर्शमुपेत्य पश्चात्सुदर्शनं प्राप स जन्मनान्धः ।
येनोद्धृतेनाशु मरुत्प्रशान्तिं गतः करं तं दिवि चालयन्तम् ॥ (VII. 10)

(One, who was moving His beautiful hands in the air-hands whose magical touch would give sight to the man born blind, and would halt the winds with a mere gesture.)

अनर्घसौगन्धिकतैलमिश्रैरनर्गलैरश्रुभिरात्तरागम् ।
अचिक्षलन् 'मग्दलना' ततो ये ताभ्यां पदाभ्यां भुवि ताडयन्तम् ॥ (VII. 11)

(One who was kicking the ground with His feet, which were later to be washed lovingly by the lady of Magdala with costly perfumes mixed with her incessantly flowing tears.)

From the childhood itself, Jesus was sometimes seen absorbed in deep thought unlike other Jewish children who were only interested in playing. He was transfigured while he was on the top of the Mount Tabor. His face shine like the sun and his garments became exceedingly bright and white. This supremely intelligent boy who was quick at understanding drank in like nectar the Jewish *Purāṇas* which are rich in maxims like "Non-violence is the Supreme *dharma*". Even though he was supposed to be the builder of the Universe, he engaged himself in the carpenter's trade generally during the entire day as he was born as the son of a carpenter. He was obedient to his parents, so as to teach the world humility, the dignity of labour, and obedience to elders. At the age of twelve, he visited the temple in Jerusalem and very much rejoiced to see it. He opposed the improper benefits of the priests received from the visitors and the killing of animals in the temple as sacrifice.

He was very eager to understand the scriptures even in childhood. While his parents were engaged in meditation in the temple he reached the assembly, where sat elders who were well-versed in the scriptures and the commentaries. He listened attentively to their interpretations of law. By raising subtle questions he kept them all spell-bound. His thirst for knowledge is clearly proved here.

In order to establish *dharma* all over the world he left his mother and home at the age of thirty. Even though he was without sins he submitted himself to the rite of baptism. The ascetic sage called John baptised him. After that the Holy Spirit led him to overcome the temptations offered by the devil. The devil promised him even the whole world but he rejected it. This shows his utter lack of interest in worldly power.

He performed many miracles. At Cana he turned water into wine. While he and his apostles were going by boat across the sea, there came a storm. The boat was getting filled with water and the apostles were frightened. He immediately rebuked the wind and the waves and there was perfect calm. All these reveals his divinity.

He was the embodiment of goodness. He even forgave great sinners, who were denied contact with the assembly of noble men. He thought that there would be more rejoicing in heaven over one sinner who repented than over many righteous men. People brought an adulteress to him and said "Mousses commands that adulterous woman be stoned to death". Then he replied, "Let him who is without sin among you be the first to throw a stone at her". They gave up the stones and returned home. He sent her away with the advice that she should not sin again. He preached *dharma* in the form of beautiful parables. He cured the diseases of many people. At the last supper he tied a towel around his waist, washed the feet of disciples and wiped them. This illustrates his teaching that we should serve one another.

He was the abode of love and tranquility. He loved even his enemies. He patiently suffered all the cruel treatment of the soldiers.

Even though he was sentenced to death by the priests, he calmly answered the questions of the Governor by asking counter questions. When he was dragged by the soldiers to be crucified, many women were seen beating their breasts and lamenting. This shows how much the people were influenced by him. When he was nailed on the cross, Jesus prayed to God to forgive those who were crucifying him. According to him, they knew not what they were doing. When Jesus gave up his spirit, the curtain in the temple was torn into two, the earth shook, the rocks were split and the tombs were opened. Thus Jesus is conceived as one wielding divine powers.

(II) Mary

Description of beauty of women characters forms a major part in the *mahākāvya.* The poet of the present poem also has not missed this chance. While describing the character of Mary the poet has nicely described her beauty in the following verses:

अपश्यतां दूरत एव तौ सतीं
तुषारगौराभमुखीं सुमध्यमाम् ।
घटे जलार्थं निहिते स्वमस्तके
सलीलमारोपितहस्तपल्लवाम् ॥ (I. 30)

(They saw, even from that distance, that fair lady, whose face shone with a snow-white luster. She was slender-waisted, and carried on her head a pitcher for bringing water, which she was holding gracefully with her tender hand.)

निजोत्तरीयार्धकुतावगुण्ठनां
दिनान्तवातेरितबन्धुरालकाम् ।
पदे पदे सूर्यकरोपलालितां
ह्रिया स्वपादार्पितनीललोचनाम् ॥ (I. 31)

(They saw her, who had covered her head with one half of her shawl; whose beautiful, curly locks were tossed by the evening breeze, who at every step, was caressed by the Sun's rays, and who, out of modesty, kept her blue eyes fixed on her feet.)

सा निर्गता संप्रति शुक्लकेशीं वृद्धां पुरस्कृत्य गृहोर्ध्वभागात् ।

सिताम्बुदश्रेणिमनुप्रयाता शशाङ्कलेखेव शरद्रजन्याम् ॥ (II. 30)

(Then she emerged from the upper room preceded by the gray-haired old woman (Elizabeth), even as the moon follows a pile of white clouds of an autumnal night.)

प्रतिश्रुता तक्षकाय नीलाक्षी श्यामकुन्तला ।
उत्सुका मरिया साऽभूत्प्रतीक्ष्योद्वाहमङ्गलम् ॥ (IV. 1)

(Mary, that blue-eyed, black-haired girl, who had been betrothed to the carpenter, was eagerly expecting the auspicious ceremony of her marriage.)

(III) Salomi

Similarly the beauty of Salomi, the daughter of the queen Herodia, is also described by the poet in the following verses:

हेरोदियाभिधायाः सा महिष्याः प्रियदारिका ।
'शलोमी' नृत्तविद्यायामधरीकृतमेनका ॥ (XIX. 16)

(She was Salomi, the beloved daughter of the queen Herodia, who put to shame even Menakā.)

तालान्वितपदन्यासैः समुद्रैः करचालनैः ।
अङ्गविक्षेपभेदैश्च सर्वांस्स्तब्धांश्चकार सा ॥ (XIX. 17)

(By the rhythmic movement of her foot-steps, by the symbolic gesture of her hands, and by the variety of the bodily movements she held all of them spellbound.)

स नूपुरझणत्कारः कङ्कणकणितं च तत् ।
सा गानमाधुरी चैवं किं किं तस्या न मादकम् ॥ (XIX. 18)

(That jinkling of the anklets, that tinkling of the bangles, that sweetness of the song-everything was maddening to them.)

अङ्गक्षेपानुरोधेन तस्याः प्रेक्षकमानसम् ।
दोलायितं भून्चित्तं हेरोदस्य तु का कथा ॥ (XIX. 19)

(Strange to say, in line with her bodily movements, the minds of the spectators were also swinging. What to say of Herod's condition ?)

(IV) Mary Magdalene

She is also nicely described by the poet in the following verse:

आपादलम्बिकेशाढ्यामानीलाम्बरधारिणीम् ।

आकुञ्चितकरोपात्ततैलसंभृतभाजनाम् ॥ (XX. 8)

(Her tresses flowed down to her feet; she wore a blue mantle; in one of her hands, which was folded, she carried a flask full of ointment.)

(V) Nature Elements

The nature elements have found little scope for the description in this poem. The poet however has beautifully described the spring season.

तस्मिन् काले नासरथां पुरीं शबलवाससा ।
विभूषयितुमायातो वसन्तः प्रियदर्शनः ॥ (IV. 3)

(At that time the spring season, which is pleasing to the eyes, arrived and bedecked the town of Nazareth with many-coloured robes.)

नीलपीतारुणैः पुष्पैर्विकीर्णा सा स्थली व्यभात् ।
कस्मैचिदिव दिव्याय शबलास्तरणं स्तृतम् ॥ (IV. 4)

(That part of the country was strewn with blue, yellow and red flowers, and it shone as if a many-coloured carpet had been spread over it to welcome some divine personage.)

वासन्तचन्द्रमा राजद्रजतद्रवसेचनात् ।
वृक्षशाखाः सिताश्चक्रे मरियायाश्च मन्दिरम् ॥ (IV. 5)

(The vernal moon washed the branches of the trees as well as the house of Mary with brilliant liquid silver.)

Description of the shining sun in the following verse is also worth-noting.

संसारार्तिहरां सनातनरसां येशोर्मुखान्निःसृतां ।
प्रेमोद्गीतिसुधां पिबन् प्रशमितोत्तापो भवन् भानुमान् ।
संहृत्याशु करान् विवेश विनयेनास्ताद्रिपार्श्वस्थितं
सन्ध्यारागकषायिताम्वरधरो ध्यानोचितं गह्वरम् ॥ (XVIII. 42)

(The Sun, having drunk the eternally sweet nectar of the sermon of love that flowed from the lips of Jesus, which removes the tribulations of the earthly existence, calmed down, and instantly withdrawing his rays and putting on the saffron robe dyed by the evening sky, entered, in all humility, a cave by the side of the setting mountain, a fitting resort for meditation.)

(VI) Temple of Jerusalem

The poet has nicely described the temple in the following verses :

क्व तद्देवगृहं ख्यातं, क्व सोऽध्वर्युरकिञ्चनः ।

अथवा देवसेवैकव्रतानां निःस्वता बलम् ॥ (III. 3)

(By the gate Susa they entered the outer court of the temple, which was encircled by high walls and steep towers.)

This was the ' First temple'' of the Israelites. The king Herod undertook the construction of his stupendous temple building, one of the wonders of the ancient world. Susa gate- the public gate led from the porch of Solomon into the kedron valley. Through this gate Jesus entered the temple on Palm Sunday, and through it He might have passed on His way to Gethsemane after His last visit to the temple.

मन्दिरस्योरसि द्वारादूर्ध्वं द्राक्षालताकृतिः ।
बभौ हिरण्मयी मुद्रा मुरारेरिव कौस्तुभः ॥ (III. 14)

(On the facade of the temple, above the door, shone a golden symbol in the shape of a vine, like the kaustubha jewel on the chest of Viṣṇu.)

ततस्ते विविशुर्गेहं श्लक्ष्णप्रस्तरनिर्मितम् ।
सुविस्तृतचतुःशालं पञ्चद्वारसमन्वितम् ॥ (III. 15)

(Then they entered the temple built of marble, and which possessed an extensive court with five gates.)

आस्तामभ्यन्तरे शाले द्वे तत्र पृथगास्थिते ।
पुण्यात्पुण्यतरास्थानं पुण्यास्थानं च कीर्तिते ॥ (III. 16)

(Inside the temple were two halls, formed separately and widely known as the Holy of Holies and the Holy place.)

Moral Teachings

Our poet has always tried to incorporate some moral teachings in between the poem. Following are some such examples :

1. पराजिते धृष्टरिपौ हि भूयसा ।
   भवन्ति जेतार उदग्रदण्डनाः ॥ (I.13)
   If the enemy, though defeated, continues to be defiant, the victors, as a rule, become merciless in inflicting punishment.
2. मृतिर्हि दास्यात्खलु मानिनां वरम् । (I.14)
   Proud death is preferable to slavery.
3. सतां गुणैः को न परोऽपि बध्यते । (I.15)

Even enemies are attracted towards virtuous men.

4. रणः प्रसूते न कदापि निर्वृतिं
वृकाङ्गना जात्वपि नाजशावकम् । (I.18)
War never brings forth bliss, nor does a she-wolf ever bring forth a lamb.

5. गृहप्रदीपो हि वधूर्हितैषिणी । (I.26)
A wife who seeks after her husband's welfare is indeed the lamp of the home.

6. सुहृत्तमा विवाहकार्ये हि विदग्धचक्षुषः । (I.38)
One's close friends are the best judges in matters concerning marriage.

7. न रत्नमन्विष्यति मृग्यते हि तत् । (I.42)
The jewel does not seek (an owner), but it is sought after.

8. यूनां प्रायः प्रियानन्दफलो हि वेषः । (II. 1)
Young men in general, dress with the intention of pleasing their sweethearts.

9. आतिथ्यकृत्ये युववृद्धभेदं न जातु पश्यन्ति कुलप्रसूताः । (II.12)
Men of noble birth never discriminate between the young and the old in extending hospitality.

10. अहेतुकामुत्कलिकामुपैति स्नेहार्द्रचित्तं हि शुभे मुहूर्ते ॥ (II.15)
On auspicious occasions, loving and tender hearts are overcome by inexplicable anxiety.

11. स्वाभिमुखानशेषांस्तेजस्विनः संप्रति दीपयन्ति । (II.21)
Brilliant personages will illuminate everyone that comes into their presence.

12. देवाविष्टात्मनां सद्यो वाचमर्थोऽनुधावति । (III.50)
Whatever the divinely inspired utter, takes effect instantaneously.

13. प्रेष्ठरूपावबोधे स्त्रीदृष्टिं सूक्ष्मां विदुर्बुधाः । (IV.9)
Wise men say that the eyes of women are sharp to recognize the forms of their dearest ones.

14. दुःखं स्निग्धजनैर्विभक्तमखिलं सह्यं भवेत्प्रायशः । (IV.38)
Sorrow, when divided among friends, generally becomes bearable.

15. ह्यरक्षितं रक्षति दैवमेव । (V.4)
There is always God to protect the unprotected.

16. पूज्यपूजा हि सर्वेषां श्रेयोमूलं शुभैषिणाम् । (VI.2)

Honouring the elders is the source of prosperity to all.

17. भवति परिचितानां सङ्गमः सान्त्वनाय । (VI.40)
The presence of familiar people affords consolation in adversity.

18. सदृशभागधेययोः सौहृदं हि निरवद्यसौहृदम् । (VIII.11)
The companionship experienced by two enjoying similar good fortune is indeed flawless.

19. आपत्सु सुपथेनेशः सन्तं नयति सन्ततम् । (IX.54)
Providence always guides the virtuous along the right path in times of adversity.

20. विनष्टवित्तो हि विनष्टमित्रः । (XXII.15)
One who has lost his money has also lost his friends.

21. अविनीता हि मोदन्ते प्रायः परपराभवे । (XXIII.4)
Ill-mannered persons usually rejoice over other people's humiliation.

22. वैरकाले कृता प्रीतिः सौहृदाय भविष्यति । (XXX.28)
An act of friendliness done during the period of enmity brings about friendship.

23. लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्वः स्वार्थं समीहते । (XXX.42)
In this world everyone seeks his own interest above everything.

24. स्त्रियो हि मृदुचेतनाः । (XXXI.17)
Women, in general are tenderhearted.

25. भिक्षा त्वया दक्षिणहस्तदत्ता
मा ज्ञायतां वामकरेण ते सा ।
दानस्य चैवं निभृतं कृतस्य
पिता फलं दास्यति गुप्तदर्शी ॥ (XVII. 40)

When you give alms, don't let the left hand know what your right hand has done for the alms giving thus done in secret, your father who sees in secret shall reward you.

26. यूयं ना सञ्चिनुत निधिमात्मार्थमुर्व्यां हि यस्मा-
त्कीटाद्यास्तं क्षयमुपनयन्त्यत्र मुष्णन्ति चौराः ।
स्वर्गे तान् सञ्चिनुत विभवान् ये हि तैर्न ह्रियन्ते
वित्तं यस्मिन् भवति भुवने तत्र चित्तं च वः स्यात् ॥

Don't lay off for yourselves treasures on earth, where moths, and other insects consumes them, and where thieves break in and steal them, but lay up those treasures in heaven where they are not consumed by them, for where your treasure is, in that world will your heart also be.

Mythological Allusions

The most striking feature of the poet's treatment is the inclusion of analogies and comparisons with personalities and situations in the two Sanskrit epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and also Purāṇas. An erudite reader will definitely get pleasure while understanding the allusions and illustrations taken from the mythological sources. Therefore, K. Kunjunni Raja in his Preface to *Kristubhāgavatm* very rightly remarks:

> "A revolutionary, but welcome feature of this work is that it contains a number of striking parallels drawn from Indian mythology. The poem is evidently written from the point of view of a devoted Christian, a cultured Indian of the 20th century. So, while narrating the story of Christ he naturally finds plenty of allusions and parallelisms from the total cultural content he has absorbed."

The poet often gives Hindu mythological allusions as the standards of comparison. This speaks of the poet's in-depth knowledge of the mythological literature. It helps him to draw striking parallels which generates interest in the minds of the readers. The allusions immediately present picturesque images and sharpen the feelings. Sometimes it is found that some unknown mythological episodes are also coming to light. In this way the poet contributes in preserving the ancient and forgotten myths in the age when the literary lore is perishing day by day. We should appreciate the poet's attempt in generating curiosity in the minds of the readers to delve deep into the sources where these myths actually occur.

The author's sound knowledge of the two Sanskrit Epics and the Purāṇas can be found throughout the book. He profusely quotes striking parallels from them. For instance, the prophet Simon giving up his body after seeing Jesus, is compared to sage Sarabhanga who did so after the satisfaction of having seen Rāma. The excitement of the disciples on seeing the transfiguration of Jesus while praying, reminds us of the experience of Arjuna on seeing the cosmic form of Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa (*Bhagavadgītā*, Canto XI). The sermon on the mount is written on the model of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Let us see such allusions from Upaniṣads, *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Bhagavadgītā,* Purāṇas etc. in the following pages:

(I) Upaniṣads:

अकालजां दधत्प्रज्ञां नचिकेतस्समां दृढाम् ।

अमन्यत कुमारोऽयं किमिदं विपणिस्थलम् ? ॥ (X. 32)

(Being extraordinary precocious like Nachiketas, the Boy reflected : " Is this a market place ?)

In this verse the intelligence of Jesus is compared to that of Naciketas, the son of the Brahmin Uddālaka Āruṇi. The Naciketa episode occurs in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad.* Naciketa was prematurely endowed with supernatural intelligence and devotion. When he saw his father during a sacrifice giving away emaciated cows to Brahmins as gifts, he felt wounded and indignantly asked his father: " To whom are you going to give me ?" The father, equally offended, suddenly replied: " To *Mṛtyu* (death). I am going to give you". We can see here how accurately the poet chooses parallel from the *Upaniṣad.*

शुनःशेफमजीगर्तः सुतं विक्रीतवान् पुरा ।
श्रूयते न तु केनापि स्वगुरोर्विक्रयः कृतः । (XXIX. 5)

(In olden days Ajigarta sold his son Śunaḥśepha, (to be a victim in a sacrifice). But so far no one had sold his Master for money)

This verse describes a very famous legend that occurs in the *Upaniṣad.* In olden days Ajigarta had sold his son Śunaḥśepha (to be a victim in a sacrifice). Śunaḥśepha was a Vedic sage, son of Ajigarta. The king Harīścandra being childless made a vow that on obtaining a son he would sacrifice him to the god Varuṇa. A son was born who was named Rohita but the king put off the fulfillment of the vow under various pretexts.

At last Rohita purchased for the hundred cows Śunaḥśepha, the second son of Ajīgarta, as a substitute for himself to be offered to Varuṇa. But Śunaḥśepha praised Viṣṇu, Indra and other deities and escaped death.

By this allusion the poet aptly criticizes the deed of shelling the Master.

Rāmāyaṇa:

श्रीमद्वसिष्ठमुनिहस्तमरुन्धतीव
पत्युः कराग्रमवलम्ब्य सती तदानीम् ।
रत्नं सुवर्णकटके घटितं यथा सा
रेजे स्वबान्धवजनैरभिनन्द्यमाना ॥ (II. 36)

According to the Jewish custom betrothal is just another form of marriage. The virtuous young sage by name Joseph who was a mere carpenter married Mary according to the rites by accepting her hand. That chaste lady, holding the hand of her lord, like

Arundhati holding the hand of the sage Vasiṣṭha, shone like a jewel set on a gold bangle. Vasiṣṭha is the name of the celebrated sage, the family priest of the solar race of kings. Arundhati, the wife of Vasiṣṭha is regarded as the highest pattern of wifely devotion and so invoked by the bridegroom at nupital ceremonies.

किं च नव्यो बलिस्तेन सुतार्थं परिकल्पितः ।
राज्ञा दशरथेनेष्टा पुत्रीयेष्टिरिवाभवत् ॥ (III. 27)

Zacharias's sacrifice intended to obtain a son is compared to the '*Putrakāmeṣṭhī*' sacrifice performed by the king Daśaratha of Ayodhya. It is known that the king Daśaratha had three wives but for several years he was without issue. Therefore, his family priest Vasiṣṭha recommended him to perform a sacrifice which he successfully did with the assistance of the sage Ṛśyaśṛṅga. On the completion of this sacrifice his wives became pregnant and bore him four sons.

सतीं पवित्रात्मनिविष्टगर्भां निन्दास्पदं कर्त्तुमनिच्छुरेताम् ।
गुप्तं परित्यक्तुमियेष मानी विदेहपुत्रीमिव रामचन्द्रः ॥ (V. 34)

The verse describes the condition of Mary who had conceived of the holy spirit. Not wishing to subject that chaste lady Mary to public reproach, Joseph decided to abandon her in secret, just as Rāma had abandoned Sītā. Mary is compared with Sītā. After her rescue from Laṅkā, Rāma, though convinced of her chastity, had to abandon her secretly when far advanced in pregnancy because the people continued to suspect her fidelity. The allusion given by the learned poet aptly brings out the miserable condition of Mary.

लब्ध्वा दीर्घतपः फलं नरकुलत्रातुः शिशोर्दर्शना-
द्त्त्वा चाशिषमन्तिमां मुनिवरस्तेभ्यः कृतार्थो भवन् ।
त्रातारं प्रतिपाल्य पुण्यनिचयैर्दृष्ट्वा चिरादागतं
श्रीरामं शरभङ्गतापस इव स्वच्छन्दमृत्युं गतः ॥ (VIII. 27)

(That great sage Simeon was perfectly happy having obtained the fruit of his long penance, the sight of the child, who was the saviour of the human race. He gave them his last blessing and peacefully passed away of his own will, like the sage Śarabhaṅga, who had awaited the coming of Śrī Rāma for a long time and gladly died of his own will.)

Śarabhaṅga was a great ascetic who was living in the Daṇḍaka forest and practising severe penance for many years. When he saw Rāma, he said that he attained the fruit of his penance and desiring to live no longer, he ended his life in the funeral pyre.

प्रवर्तमानो दृप्तोऽसावसाध्ये हास्यतां गतः ।
दशास्य इव देवारिः कैलासोद्धारणे पुरा ॥ (XII. 18)

Jesus, who insolently attempted the impossible became an object of ridicule like the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, the enemy of Gods, who had tried to uproot the Kailash mountain, the residence of Śiva. Śiva had pressed it down and had crushed Rāvaṇa's hands under it. Rāvaṇa was relived from this only by propitiating Lord Śiva by means of severe penance.

रामनिर्वासनाद्धेतोर्गर्ह्यते केकयात्मजा ।
कियती साऽङ्गना गर्ह्या मुनिमारणकारिणी ॥ (XIX. 24)

The verse has a reference to Kaikeyī, daughter of the king of Kekayas, the youngest wife of the king Daśaratha and the mother of Bharata. When Rāma was about to be installed as heir-apparent, Kaikeyī, at the instigation of her wicked nurse Mantharā, insisted, by the two boons previously promised to her by the king on the exile of Rāma and the installation of Bharata as the '*Yuvarāja*'. The old king was shocked at this unexpected request and tried to dissuade his wife from her evil intention, but she proved inexorable. At last Rāma, to fulfil the word of his father, willingly went into exile, accompanied by his wife Sītā and his brother Lakṣmaṇa. Here in this context Saloni, the dancer who caused the murder of the sage John is compared with ill-famed Kaikeyī.

अवकाशं किलोदन्वान् रामायाभ्यर्थितो ददौ ।
संहृतोर्मिभिरीशाय प्राञ्जलिं तर्जितो ह्रदः ॥ (XX. 56)

It is said that at the request of Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni, the ocean withdrew to a distance. Similarly, the lake gave '*Añjali*' to Jesus when threatened with her subdued waves. The first hemstitch is a quotation from Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 58).

गत्वा प्रक्षाल्य संप्राप्तदृष्टिः प्रत्याजगाम सः ।
नदीस्नानादवक्रः सन्नष्टावक्रो मुनिर्यथा ॥ (XXII. 34)

Jesus anointed the blind man's eyes with the clay and commanded him to wash his face in the pool of Siloam. The blind man went, washed and came back, having obtained eyesight. This incidence has been compared with that of Aṣṭāvakra episode of the *Rāmāyana*. Aṣṭāvakra is the name of a celebrated Brahmin, son of the great sage Kahoḍa. Kahoḍa married the daughter of his preceptor Uddālaka. He remained devoted to the study and generally neglected her wife. Once when she was far advanced in pregnancy the unborn son being provoked at his father's neglect of his mother, rebuked him for his absorption in study. The sage being furious at this impertinence, condemned his son to be born crooked. Once the sage Kahoḍa was thrown into a river as a result of a wager in a dispute with a Buddhist, young Aṣṭāvakra defeated the Buddhist and relieved his father, who, being pleased, directed his son to bathe in the Samanga river, on doing which, the lad became perfectly straight.

कैकेय्या कृतमात्मनन्दनकृते यद्रामनिर्वासनं
तद्देवैः परिकल्पितं भुवनरक्षार्थं वदन्त्यागमाः ।
शिष्येण स्वगुरोः समर्पणमपि स्वार्थैकहेतोर्न तत्
प्रागेवेश्वरकल्पितं मनुजरक्षार्थं विदुः पण्डिताः ॥ (XXIX. 39)

Learned men said that the betrayal of the master by his disciple was actuated not by selfish motive alone, but was previously decided by God for the redemption of humanity.

According to the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* the exile of Rāma, Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa etc., were all predetermined by the gods to bring about the destruction of Rāvaṇa and the demons, and therefore Kaikeyī was but an instrument in the hands of the gods for the accomplishment of their design.

कलावती पतिं येशोर्विमोचनमयाचत ।
रावणं मैथिलीमोक्षं पुरा मन्दोदरी यथा ॥ (XXX. 43)

Claudia beseeched her husband to release Jesus, as Mandodarī begged of Rāvaṇa, the release of Sītā and to save himself from certain ruin, but Rāvaṇa turned a deaf ear to her advice.

(III) Mahābhārata

स्वमांसमेव भोज्यं स्वभक्तेभ्यो यः प्रदास्यति ।
जीमूतवाहनोदन्तस्तस्यादात्पुलकोद्गमम् ॥ (X. 14)

To Jesus, who was to offer his own flesh as good as food to his devotees, the story of Jīmūtavāhana was indeed thrilling. Jīmūtavāhana is the name of the Vidyādhara prince, son of Jīmūtaketu, king of the Vidyādharas, renowned for his benevolent and charitable disposition. When his father's kingdom was invaded by his Kinsmen, Jīmūtavāhana scorned the idea of fighting with them and induced his father to leave it to those who sought for it and to repair with him to the Malaya mount to lead a holy life. There he one day took the place of a young serpent who was, by virtue of an agreement to be offered to Garuda, the king of birds, as his daily meal and induced, by his generous and touching behaviour, the enemy of serpents to give up his practice of devouring them.

ततः स पञ्चभिः शिष्यैर्गालिलीं प्रययौ गुरुः ।
हास्तिनं जेतृभिः शार्ङ्गी नगरं पाण्डवैरिव ॥ (XV. 1)

The verse describes that Jesus went to the city Galilee accompanied by his five discipiles as the Lord Krishna had entered the city of Hastināpura founded by king Hastin situated some 56 miles north-east of modern Delhi, after the battle of Kurukshetra, accompanied by the victorious Pāṇḍavas, who were five in number.

धर्मजाय पुराऽर्केण दत्तमक्षयभाजनम् ।
अस्मार्षुः केचन प्राच्यपुरावृत्तविदस्तदा ॥ (XV. 47)

While moving from place to place Jesus went to the shore of the lake Tiberias, and the people who had witnessed his miracle deeds followed him in thousands. He tried there to perform a miracle. So he said to Philip, one of his disciples, to give food to all those people. Philip was surprised to see that there was only five thousand people. But Jesus took the loaves and fish and gave them graciously to the disciples, who eat their fill. It is one of the miracles. In this context the poet refers to *Akṣayabhājanam,* a magic vessel granted by the sun-god to Yudhiṣṭhira. By the help of this vessel, which had the capacity of producing in exhaustive food. Draupadī was able to feed the 60,000 brahmins who had accompanied the Pāṇḍavas into exile.

अपकारस्य शिष्यस्य विधेयोऽभूत्स्वयं गुरुः ।
द्रौपदस्य यथा द्रोणो यथा भीष्मः किरीटिनः ॥ (XXIX. 8)

The teacher became a willing victim of the disciple's injury, just as Droṇa of Draupada and Bhīṣma of Arjuna. Jesus was also betrayed by one of his disciples.

श्रुत्वा सद्गुरुशासनं शवगृहात् प्रत्युत्थितं सोदरं
सोदर्यौ गलदश्रुपूर्णनयने गाढं समाश्लिष्यताम् ।
नष्टासुं सुतयार्थितेन गुरुणा शुक्रेण सञ्जीवनी-
मन्त्रेणोद्धृतजीवितं कचमिव श्रीदेवयानी पुरा ॥ (XXIV. 38)

The two sisters, with tears of joy, embraced their brother, Lazarus, who had risen from the tomb, at the command of the Master Jesus, as Devayānī, the daughter of the preceptor Śukra, in days of yore, embraced Kaca who, though dead, was restored to life by the Sañjīvanī spell of her father at her request. Kaca was the son of Bṛhaspati. He became a pupil of Śukra, the preceptor of the demons to learn from him a lore which was unknown to the gods. Devayānī, daughter of Śukra, loved him. The demons were angry that their preceptor should teach the son of Bṛhaspati. They killed him, but Śukra, restored him to life. However, he would not consent to marry her, saying he regarded her as his sister.

एकः शिष्यगणे भवेद्यदि दुराचारः प्रभोः का क्षतिः
शिष्येष्वस्य यशस्करेष्वविचलप्रीतेषु सत्स्वन्तिके ।
मत्थादुल्बणमुद्गतेन दहता हालाहलेनाऽपि का
हानिः कौस्तुभमुख्यरत्ननिचयस्यैकाकरस्याम्बुधेः ॥ (XXIX. 40)

If one among the group of disciples turns evil doer, what harm is there for Master, while close to him there are disciplines who are of unflinching loyalty, and who strive to enhance His glory? What harm is there for the ocean by the burning Halāhala poison which violently strong up during the churning of the ocean, while it is the storehouse of jewels like the Kaustubha.

It is known that during the churning of the milky ocean by the Gods on one side and demons on the other, several precious things emerged from the ocean like the jewel Kaustubha, Pārijāta, Lakṣmī and also the dreadful Halāhala poison. As so many good things were the product of the ocean, it cannot be blamed for bringing forth one bad thing, i.e. the Halāhala.

'अश्वत्थामा हतोऽस्ती'ति व्याजोक्त्या वञ्चितो गुरुः ।
धर्मजेन रणे धर्मधीरेणापि जयैषिणा ॥ (XXX. 71)

The preceptor Droṇa was deceived by the words " Aśvatthāmā has been killed" uttered by Dharmaputra, who was eager to achieve victory in the battle. Mistaking his only son for dead, the kind-hearted father gave up his arms, and fell in a swoon, and Dhṛṣṭadyumna, son of Drupada, who wanted to avenge the death of his father at the hands of Droṇa, took advantage of the circumstance and cut off his head.

In the great war Bhishma fought on the side of the Kauravas, but was mortally wounded by his own disciple Arjuna with the assistance of Sikhandin (who was an incarnation of Amba, daughter of Kasiraja and who bore a grudge against Bhisma) and was laid on a bed of darts.

क्रुशशय्यागतं येशुगतं शिष्योऽन्ववर्त्तत ।
शरशय्यागतं भीष्ममिव धर्मसुतः पुरा ॥ (XXXI. 39)

The disciple acted in accordance with the command of Jesus, who was lying on the bed of the cross as Dharmaputra in olden days, followed the advice of Bhisma, who was lying on a bed of arrows.

In the following verse the poet has compared Jesus with Lord Krishna.

दृष्ट्वा रूपान्तरं प्राप्तं येशुं सर्वे प्रकम्पिताः ।
विस्मिताश्चाभवन् पश्यन्विश्वरूपमिवार्जुनः ॥ (XXI. 26)

The disciples namely Peter, Jacob and John saw the transfiguration of Jesus with awe and astonishment and that seeing is compared to Arjuna's seeing the cosmic form of Lord Krishna.

(IV) Purāṇas :

मन्दिरस्योरसि द्वारादूर्ध्वं द्राक्षालताकृतिः ।
बभौ हिरण्मयी मुद्रा मुरारेरिव कौस्तुभः ॥ (III. 14)

On the facade of the temple, above the door, shone a golden symbol in the shape of a vine, like the 'Kaustabha' jewel on the chest of Viṣṇu. Kaustubha is the name of a gem obtained at the churning of the ocean and worn by the God Viṣṇu on his chest.

निद्रोत्थितः सुमतिरीश्वरदूतवाक्यात्
पर्यग्रहीद्भुवनभूतिदमावहन्तीम् ।
वाणीं सगर्भतनयामधिकृत्य दैवी-
माकर्ण्य तामिव मुनिप्रवरः स कण्वः ॥ (V. 38)

The noble-minded Joseph, rising from his sleep, accepted, on the testimony of the messenger of God, her who bore within herself the Jesus, giver of happiness to the world; as the noble sage Kaṇva, who after hearing a celestial voice, accepted his pregnant daughter without hesitation. When the sage Kaṇva, foster - father of Śakuntalā, was entering the sanctuary of the consecrated fire, he heard a celestial voice concerning her pregnancy : "O Brahmin, known that your daughter bears, as does Sami the fire, the seed imparted by Duṣyanta for the welfare of the world". Then he entered in and embraced and blessed Śakuntalā.

This episode occurs in the *Śivapurāṇa* and also in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa.

सोऽपश्यदावृतं नानाभक्तसङ्घैर्निरन्तरम् ।
देवगेहमकूपारान्मैनाकाद्रिमिवोत्थितम् ॥ (X. 28)

The house of God surrounded by dense crowds of devotees, seemed to him like the mountain Maināka rising up from the ocean. Maināka is the name of a mountain, son of Himalaya and Mena. When Indra dipped the wings of mountains he alone retained his wings on account of his friendship with the ocean in which he hid himself.

तपोविघ्नोद्यतः कामः शम्भुना भस्मसात्कृतः ।
विलोभकः पिशाचस्तु जितोऽपि गुरुणोज्झितः ॥ (XII. 19)

When the gods wanted a commander for their forces in their war with the demon Tāraka, they sought the aid of Kāma in drawing the mind of Śiva towards Pārvatī, whose issue alone could vanquish the demon. Kāmadeva had undertaken that mission; but Śiva, being offended by the disturbance of his penance, had burnt him down with the fire of his third eye. In the above verse it is described that Jesus unlike Śiva did not do that kind of cruel punishment, he let off the tempter devil without doing anything. The poet suggests *Karuṇābhāva* of Jesus.

उद्यानरक्षीति नरं गृहीतं
प्रभुं विदित्वा मरिया जहर्ष ।
मृषावटुं प्रागतिथिं गृहीतं
बुद्ध्वा महेशं नगनन्दिनीव ॥ (XXXII. 20)

Mary rejoiced when she discovered that he whom she had mistaken for the gardener was the Lord, as Pārvatī was delighted to know that the false Brahmacārīn whom she had mistaken for a guest was in fact Parameśvara,

पित्रादिभिस्तदा तस्मिन् गिरौ परिवृतः प्रभुः ।
बभौ नन्दिप्रभृतिभिः कैलासे शंकरो यथा ॥ (XXXIII. 21)

The Lord, who stood on the hill, surrounded by Peter and others, shone like Śiva who stood on mount Kailasa, surrounded by Nandi, the chief of his attendants and others.

बलिना रोम्यसम्राजा पुरं ध्वस्तं भविष्यति ।
असुराणामदम्यानां नगरीव पुरारिणा ॥ (XXXI. 24)

The city Jerusalem will be totally demolished by the powerful Roman emperor, like the city of the irrepressible Asuras by the destroyer of the cities (Śiva). *Tripura* or a collection of three cities of gold, silver and iron were built in the sky, air and earth for the demons by Maya, their architect. These were burnt down along with the demons inhabiting them, by Śiva at request of the Gods.

(V) Miscellaneous

यहूदियानां भूपालो हेरोदो नाम दुर्मतिः ।
शशास निष्ठुरं राज्यं कंसः श्रीमथुरामिव ॥ (IX. 1)

Herod, the wicked king of Judea is compared with Kamsa, the king of Mathura.

गुरुणा देववृन्दैश्च सुधर्मायां समावृतम् ।
महेन्द्रमिव हेरोदं विद्वांसस्ते व्यलोकयन् ॥ (IX. 18)

Herod, the king of Judea is also compared with Devendra (the chief of gods) surrounded by Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of Gods.

राजदण्डधरं क्रूरदृष्टिं मकुटधारिणाम् ।
ददृशुस्तमुपान्ते ते दण्डहस्तमिवान्तकम् ॥ (IX. 19)

As Antaka, the god of death, represented as wearing a crown and bearing a club in his hand, Herod, the king of Judea is also described here.

हिरोदियाभिधायाः सा महिष्याः प्रियदारिका ।
'शलोमी' नृत्तविद्यायामधरीकृतमेनका ॥ (XIX. 16)

Salomi, the beloved daughter of the queen Herodia put to shame even Menakā in the art of dance. Menakā is an apsaras, mother of Śakuntalā and an accomplished dancer.

दिनेषु पूर्णेषु सखर्यपत्नी प्रासूत पुत्रं नवपल्लवाभम् ।
विडंबयन्तं प्रभयाऽरुणाख्यं दिवाकराग्रेसरमुग्रवीर्यम् ॥ (V. 24)

In the fullness of time the wife of Zacharias gave birth to a son, who had the colour of tender leaves. By his luster he imitated Aruṇa of intense energy, the herald of the sun God. Aruṇa is the name of the Dawn personified as the charioteer of the Sun. He is supposed to be red in clolour as the Baptist was, and is the forerunner of the Sun, as John was the forerunner of Christ.

Conclusion

In the above pages I have tried my best to introduce to the lovers of Sanskrit, the work *Kristubhāgavatam* highlighting its literary merits. The *Kristubhāgavatam* has definitely made a distinct place in Modern Sanskrit literature. The poet has made a sublime contribution by giving the biography of Jesus in divine language. Like *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Kristubhāgavata* will be appreciated and accepted by the lovers of Sanskriṭ poetry for ever.

PANDIT SATYA NARAYAN SHASTRI AND HIS *RĀMĀŚVAMEDHĪYAM*

SATYAVRAT VARMA*

Born on May 23, 1929 at Rajgarh (Dist. Churu) in the former princely state of Bikaner, Pandit Satya Narayan Shastri (SNS) was heir to a rich literary and cultural tradition. He received his early education from his father, Pt. Gopal Chandra Shastri, who was a well-equipped Sanskrit Paṇḍita and has earned wide renown as a teacher at the local Pāṭhaśālā. SNS has been a prodigy of sorts right from his childhood. He displayed considerable promise in grammar and lexicon even before he was formally initiated into studies. He passed Madhyamā from the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit College at the tender age of fifteen. Inspired by his performance in grammar, his father wanted to fashion him into a mighty grammarian and logician. But he had special flair for Sāhitya and proved his credentials as a poet by composing the delectable poem *Ācāryābhinavam,* which prompted his father to give him a free hand in prosecuting studies in the discipline of his choice. Fired by unabated zeal for learning, he passed the Sāhitya Shastri examination in 1948, when he was hardly nineteen, which, in view of the tough syllabi for the three respective parts, was no less than a feat on his part. He followed it by annexing the Ācārya degree in 1951. In between he had passed the Āyurveda-viśārada and Āyurvedācārya examinations in 1947 and 1949 respectively.

The stint at Calcutta as an honorary Vaidya at the Viśuddhānanda Marwari Charitable Hospital turned out to be very fruitful for him. There he came in contact with a galaxy of leading scholars, physicians, leaders and business tycoons who left a deep imprint on him. Alongside his professional pursuits, he in association with other Sanskrit Paṇḍitas, established a literary body for the promotion of Sanskrit which did a tremendous job in shaping budding poets and scholars.

He shifted to Nohar (Raj.) in March, 1955 to take up the Stewardship of a private Auṣadhālaya there, but, subsequently set up his own clinic that continued to function with aplomb till he shifted to Bhiwani (Haryana) at an advanced age.

Shastriji is a versatile scholar, well-equipped in different disciplines. His knowledge

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp.187-204.

* 7/34, Purani Abadi, Near Namdev Flour Mills, Sri Ganganagar (Raj.)

of grammar, poetics and lexicon is truly formidable, which is tellingly reflected in his writings. He is addedly well-grounded in Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Tantra, Jyotiṣa and Āyurveda. He in fact represents the tradition of ancient Sanskrit learning which is unhappily fading out fast. He is moreover a deeply religious person, wedded to the traditional Hindu ethos, values and norms. Like a true devout, he stands for probity and compassion in personal and public life. A patriot to the core, his love for the motherland finds wide expression in his *Mahākāvyas.*

It is nothing short of a miracle that a man so deeply involved in professional, socio-religious and philanthropic activities, has made substantial contributions towards enriching the Sanskrit literature. His writings which include two comprehensive *mahākāvyas*, *khaṇḍakāvyas*, love poem, *stotras* and a number of shorter works, bear sure testimony to his sound equipment and poetic talents.

While we mean to undertake an appraisal of the whole gamut of his writings elsewhere, the present paper seeks to focus on his *Rāmāśvamedhīyam,* a burly poem in 2014 stanzas.

Rāmāśvamedhīyam

Notwithstanding minor infirmities, the *Rāmāśvamedhīyam* (RAŚM)[1] is a remarkable poem of the contemporary era. A *mahākāvya* in nineteen cantos, it seeks to detail the time-honoured story of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* with distinct emphasis on the horse-sacrifice, with such literary trappings and gimmicks as the *mahākāvya* admits. With a view to give it a wider spectrum and work up a well-connected narrative, the author has ingeniously reproduced in brief the earlier part of the story as well. However, as a well-equipped poet, driven by an idealism to instruct the society in moral and spiritual values he could hardly rest at the oars. He has boldly recast the epic story to lend it newer dimensions. The massive narrative seems to overwhelm the core event, *Aśvamedha,* which has shrunk to a small segment. Its ethical overtones and diaphanous phraseology, however, combine to impart the *Rāmāśvamedhīyam* a distinct character.

Narrative : Innovations and Execution

In a bid to reinterpret the epic story, the author has introduced certain innovations in the narrative. He means to bring it close to the modern society in a manner that it may reflect the various institutions, concepts and norms of the democratic set up, and thereby guide the people to conduct themselves in the best interests of the nation. While some of the innovations impart new ramifications to the narrative, others sound rather unconvincing.

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1. Published by the author, 30 Adarsh Nagar, Bhiwani (Harayana), 2006

(I) The manifesto (*ghoṣaṇāpatra*), read out to the assembly by Rāma, seeks to spell out his vision of administrative and political culture, social conduct and people's commitment to the motherland (I.92-102). While some of his pronouncements are commonplace, others set forth certain norms and ideals that should actuate a welfare state. His concept of an ideal king would do any democratic administration proud (I. 105, 110). However, the manifesto at places reads like an official document of an overbearing king, who tends to threaten the people in harsh language (I. 71).

(II) Kaikeyī who has been reviled to no end in the epic for her despicable role in bringing about Rāma's exile[2], has received a dramatic orientation in the RAŚM. She doubtless rues her harshness towards Rāma (त्वां विवास्य कलुषं मया कृतम्, III. 17), she has little doubt that her action was prompted by the high ideal of universal weal (III. 26). She alone knew that Lord Viṣṇu had reincarnated in Rāma's person to alleviate the suffering of the world, and it was with a view to enable him to carry out the divine mission that he was sent into exile by her (आर्तदुःखहरणाय ते जनिं जानती यदहमाचरं तथा, III. 36). And that brought him rich dividends. By liquidating the mighty demons he saved the world from perpetual scourge. Rāma, even while in the jungle, earned immaculate fame, while she suffered untold ignominy and agony even in the royal mansion (III. 22). To the author, Kaikeyī was *manasvinī* and *tapasvinī*, and it was her pious act 'that made Rāma what he' is (III. 30). Even Kauśalyā gratefully acknowledges her contribution in shaping Rāma (III. 62).

One may not question Kaikeyī's motive, but one wonders if exile was the only avenue for Rāma to serve the suffering humanity.

(III) The events leading to Sītā's banishment in the face of public calumny are also differently treated in the RAŚM. The author seems to view Rāma's unilateral decision to banish Sītā too authoritative[3]. Rāma in the poem seeks the opinion of his younger brothers to determine the course of action following the public outcry. While Bharata and Lakṣmaṇa keep silence, Śatrughna opposes the decision (विसृज्य भूमितनयां वनान्तरे, VII. 29) tooth and nail and rebuts Rāma's logic with stout arguments. He rather asks Rāma to punish the unscruplous persons who spread baseless canards and expell them from the kingdom so that others are spared character assassination (VIII. 36-37). Sītā, in his view, cannot he held guilty on any count and it would be a travesty of justice to punish an innocent woman (VIII. 39-40). Śatrughna seems to view the crisis in a broader perspective. In his view it did not concern Rāma alone. It was a family-crisis, and as such should he resolved by common consensus of the family, and not by an individual. His opposition to Rāma's decision is, therefore, not illogical. Śatrughna represents a dissenting note.

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[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 74.7

[3] *Ibid*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 45

(IV) The episode of Sītā's banishment itself has undergone drastic deviation in the poem. The faithful in the author could hardly believe that Rāma, an epitome of compassion and solicitude, could be so cruel to his devoted wife, who represented the acme of ideal womanhood. He has therefore given the episode an altogether new shape.

Sītā, in the RAŚM gathers intelligence on her own about what made Rāma so disspirited and what transpired at the conference that he had with his brother (VIII. 67). Finding her in an unenviable situation in the face of public slander, she decides to go into voluntary exile, and thereby bail out her husband from the ignominy of expelling his innocent wife (VIII. 68-69). She calmly asks Rāma to arrange her departure forthwith (VIII. 72), which he readily does. Lakṣmaṇa takes her to the forest and leaves her close to Vālmīki's hermitage.

Though the changes made in the episode speak volumes of Sītā's devotion to her husband and the steadfastness of her character, the self-imposed banishment seems to be an untenable proposition.

(V) The episode of Śambūka as detailed in the epic, reflects poorly on Rāma[4]. In the RAŚM Rāma impresses upon the erring ascetic the fact that the violation of norms laid down for the various classes, evokes instant punishment. He addedly spurs him with persuasive logic to dedicate himself to the service of the society in the true spirit of the function of his class. He sees merit in Rāma's exhortation to him and desists from the penance of his own accord. That served Rāma's purpose well.

The changes made in the episode might have saved Rāma from embarassment, Śambūka's self-denial, like Sītā's self-exile, leaves one cold.

(VI) Contrary to the tragic end of the epic-story, it ends on a happy note in the RAŚM with Rāma's union with his devoted wife, even after she had slipped into the nether region with her mother, Bhūdevī. As Rāma asks Sītā to prove her credentials to the people of Ayodhya even after Vālmīki's emphatic pronouncement on her chastity (XIX. 89-90), she begs the Mother Earth to prove it beyond doubt by absorbing her into herself. Bhūdevī readily emerges and disappears with Sītā into the *Pātāla.* That left everybody there aghast. While Rāma fumes, they along with royal mothers cry at the abrupt turn of events. The sage Bhṛgu, who had cursed Viṣṇu to suffer separation from his spouse, was so moved by their agony that he rushed to Ayodhyā, and released Rāma from the operation of the imprecation he had inflicted on him earlier (XIX. 122-123). As the people of Ayodhya eulogised the Mother Earth at the sage's instance, she emerged from the nether region with Sītā and made her over to the *Jāmātā* (Rāma).

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[4] *Ibid, Uttarakāṇḍa,* 76

The author has striven hard to make the epic story lively, cohesive and comprehensive. As the title implies, the horse-sacrifice forms the heart of the poem. However, the way it has been executed in the RAŚM, it seems to have sunk to the secondary position. One hears of it quite late in the poem (XV. 112). The whole description of the Aśvamedha is restricted to the last four cantos of them, the better part of canto Nineteen is usurped by extraneous details. The preceding fifteen cantos seek to detail the better part of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and the earlier story, which, in the author's view, formed backdrop to and culminated in the performance of Aśvamedha. He is at his best in handling the story of Rāma's early career which unfolds itself in quick succession.

The execution of a comprehensive story is always demanding. The author has strung together the different strands of the narrative with a measure of skill, though events like Śrutakīrti's artistic forays, Kaikeyī's remorse and Vālmīki's sharp rebuke to the people of Ayodhya seem to be somewhat detached. He has struggled hard to handle the long narrative efficiently. The difficulty with him is that he is obsessed with frivolous details, and as a consequence has no regard for proportion. He sees nothing wrong in referring to the *Śaucavidhi* of Rāma and Sītā (VII. 44) or Sītā's vomitting at the early stage of pregnancy (VI. 78) or her urge to conceal it with the folds of her Sari (VI. 87). The instances can be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Details spelt out in VII. 39, IX. 27, XII. 16, XIX. 117 befit the puranic narrative more than a *mahākāvya* with the plethora of such details hanging on them, some of the descriptions smack of puranic style and ambience. To this class belong, among others, the decriptions of Sītā's schedule at Vālmīki's *āśrama* (XII.1-30) and Vasiṣṭha's lunch at the royal palace (VI. 66-78). Nor could they have been proportionate in the situation. The Rāmarājya is thus detailed in as many as seventy four verses though it lacks freshness. Even a natural phenomenon like Sītā's conceiving has claimed fourteen stanzas (VI. 75-88). The author seems to be unconcerned about the girth of his descriptions. He has no hesitation in squandering away nine verses in a row to postulate on the possible cause of the dark spot in the moon (VII. 17-26). He does not move ahead unless he has said all that he wanted to say about anything.

Rasa

The depiction of *rasa* in the RAŚM accords with the precepts of the later poeticians, who, contrary to their predecessors[5], insist on the *aṅgāṅgī* relationship of the various sentiments[6], with the *aṅgī rasa* to be picked up from the trinity of *Śṛṅgāra, Vīra* and *Śānta*[7]. With Aśvamedha as its core issue, the RAŚM is enlivened by a series of exploits of the royal guards of the sacrificial horse, and such other individuals who deemed it fit to intercept the horse thereby inviting instant retaliation. Though *utsāha,* the lasting feeling of *Vīrarasa,* has many facets to it, it is in the armed conflicts that it manifests with vigour. The RAŚM is distinguished by a number of combats that are imaginatively detailed to lead to the expression of the heroic sentiment. In view of its intensity and depth, *Vīrarasa* may well be admitted as the *aṅgī rasa* of the poem.

The depiction of *vīrarasa* in the RAŚM seems to follow a pattern, which, though not unknown elsewhere, adds to its effect. The combats detailed in the poem are invariably preceded by wordy duels which are no less potent in giving rise to the heroic sentiment than their armed counterparts. The verbal bouts, in certain cases, are dotted with soliloquies of the respective combatants, which, not unlike the wordy duels, are enlivened by a powerful manifestation of the arrogance, valour and brusqueness of the *dramatis personale.* Lava's reaction to the supposedly humiliating edict fastened to the horse's head is virulent. He takes the stipulation to be a slur on the combined might of the warrior class and picks up gountlet to show the so-called sovereign his place. He is confident that he, a pupil of Vālmīki, was eminently equipped to bring the sham sovereign to his knees.[8]

The actual verbal exchanges also exude zeal, hauteur and might of the respective combatants. They are fired by unabated zeal to prove their mettle and trounce the rivals in the encounter. They addedly seek to humiliate the rivals by pouring scorn on their real and imaginary infirmities. All this is spurred by their inherent *utsāha*, the permanent feeling of *vīrarasa*. Though marred by a modicum of repetition, the wordy duels contribute to strengthening the heroic sentiment.

Lakṣmaṇa's verbal encounter with the hermit-boy Kuśa is vigorous and stinging. Both the opponents are brimming with self-confidence and arrogance born of their equipment in warfare. The hermit-boy is more aggressive and vocal. While Lakṣmaṇa asks him not to meddle with the affairs that are alien to his class, and release the horse as it belonged to Rāma, the sovereign who has extirpated the demonrace, Kuśa breaks into a long rejoinder. "The brave are not bothered about the name, might or achievements of the rival. It mattered little to him as to who ruled the earth. It is decided by one's might and the place to decide is the battle-field". Stung by the pierceing taunts, the half-strung bow of Lakṣmaṇa fell from his hand, the quiver tumbled down, his head began to reel and he fell unconscious on the chariot."[9]

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[5] युक्तं लोकस्वभावेन रसैश्च सकलैः पृथक् । Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṁkāra* (I.21)

[6] प्रसिद्धेऽपि प्रबन्धानां नानारसनिबन्धने ।
एको रसोऽङ्गीकर्त्तव्यस्तेषामुत्कर्षमिच्छता ॥ *Dhvanyāloka,* III. 21

[7] शृङ्गारवीरशान्तानामेकोऽङ्गी रस इष्यते । *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* VI. 317

[8] क्षुद्रग्रामटिकाशताधिपतयो ये चक्रवर्तिब्रुवाः
सामर्थ्यैर्भृतिभुग्बलस्य सकलां वाञ्छन्ति जेतुं महीम् ।
तेषामुद्धततां विनेतुमुदितो जागर्ति भूमीभुजां
क्षत्राणीस्तनपानपीवरतनुर्वाल्मीकिशिष्यो लवः ॥ RAŚM, XVIII. 18

The heroic sentiment, however, finds the most powerful expression in the armed encounters. The combats, as detailed in the poem, do not differ much in essence. But some of them are delineated more meticuously and occasion the emergence of *vīrarasa* with greater vigour. The seizure of the horse by Damana, the prince of Cakrāṅkitā, pits him against Puṣkala's forces. With the two doughty combatants leading the rival forces, the *vīrarasa* seemed to be equally divided in two parts. Their skill in operations made them scoff at each other. The volley of arrows showered by Puṣkala with ferocity struck down the prince. The heroic sentiment springs with profusion from the encounter.

एकत्र पुष्कलमतिर्भरताङ्गजातः
सैन्ये परत्र दमनश्च सुबाहुसूनुः ।
तुल्येन रम्यवपुषा वयसा बलेन
द्वेधा विभक्त इव वीररसश्चकासे ॥ XVII. 42
तच्चापमुक्तविशिखाहतवीर-वार
देहस्रवद्रुधिरनिर्झरिणीप्रवाहैः ।
तृप्ताऽभवद्रणधरा तृषिता चिरेण
व्याप्तं नभश्च शरगुम्फितमुण्डमालैः ॥ XVII. 44
तीक्ष्णैः पृषत्कनिचयैर्भरताङ्गजस्य
कर्णान्तकृष्टगुणकार्मुकवेगमुक्तैः ।
आविद्धवक्षसमचेतनमाशु दक्षो
भूपाङ्गजं रणभुवोऽपतिताय सूतः ॥ XVII. 46

The encounter of the Ayodhya princess Puṣkala and Candraketu with Lava, though enlivened by ferocity and consequent emergence of *vīrarasa*, is subdued by enigmatic hesitation. They readily string their bows to try conclusions but are petrified (*aśmamūrtīyamānāḥ*) and held back for a moment by some unknown force (केनाप्यान्तरहेतुना

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9. RAŚM, XVIII. 86, 95

तरलिताश्चक्रुः कुमारास्त्रयः, XVIII.40). They, in view of their *kṣātradharma,* take the field. However, despite all his vaunt, Lava does not harm their persons but is content to snare them by his rope-weapon (*rajjvastra,* XVIII. 49). The lethal weapons hurled by Candraketu also leave Lava unharmed (*viphalatām ninye lavo helayā,* XVIII. 45).

The *Dānavīra* aspect of Heroism is explicit in Rāma's high notion of Aśvamedha. To him the highest purpose of performing the great sacrifice is to distribute the royal treasure to the needy and poor. And he asks Śatrughna to do it (XVI. 112-113).

Of the ancillary sentiments, *karuṇa* matches the *aṅgī rasa* in depth, if not width. The author seems to be better equipped to depict pathos with telling effect. *Śoka,* the lasting feeling of *Karuṇarasa,* need not always culminate in death. Other aspects of *Śoka* to which it is amenable, are equally touching. In the course of recapitulating the early events, the bare mention of Rāma's exile leaves Kauśalyā and the people of Ayodhya aghast. They all were sapped of vitality and fell into swoon. *Karuṇarasa* crops up with intensity in their agony.

रामो गतो गतवती नयनं वधूर्मे हा लक्ष्मणोऽपि गतवान् हृदयं मदीयम् ।
ज्येष्ठाम्बया विलपितं करुणं लुठन्त्या भूमौ निशम्य जनता सकलाप्यरोदीत् ॥ II. 49
सर्वेऽपि निर्गतसमस्तशरीरसत्त्वा अश्मायितेक्षणजडायितमूर्च्छिताङ्गाः ।
जीवच्छवा इव जना विकला अभूवन् प्राणान् दधुः सकुशलाऽऽगमनप्रतीक्षाः ॥ II. 50

Equally peneterating is the pathos inherent in the helplessness of the hermit-boys, Lava and Kuśa, after their mother abruptly slips into *Pātāla.* "She was our venerable teacher. She has departed without any brief to us. Our stay in Ayodhya is now untenable. They beg Vālmīki to take them back to the hermitage. The tender/innocent words of the boys tore Rāma's heart like so many saws. To him it was a pimple upon ulcer. Height of anguish indeed (XIX. 114-115) !

Besides the two main sentiments, *Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Adbhuta* and *Vātsalya* have also been depicted with a measure of skill. *Bhayānaka* finds expression in what transpires on Vidyunmālin's emergence from his hide-out. As the mighty demon stepped out, the sun turned into an opaque entity and the earth was enveloped in a thick blanket of darkness. The abrupt phenomenon sent shudder down to one's spine. While the people were petrified with fear, the burly elephants were paralysed and birds were frozen to death (XVII. 77-79). The ghastly scene at Mathura, with bones scattered all around, walls splattered with blood and the screams of pigs under the blade rending the air, filled one with disgust (*jugupsā*), the lasting feeling of *Bībhatsa* (XIII. 25). *Adbhuta* breaks out with vigour in the emergence of Mother Earth in response to Sītā's fervent appeal. The moment

Sītā begs the Mother to prove her chastity to the people of Ayodhya, there was sudden stir underground, the earth trembled violently and a gaping hole opened up then and there. And lo! the Mother seated on a throne and shedding flashes all around like hundreds of lightenings, emerged from the nether region, to the surprise of one and all (XIX. 100-101).

Bhāva too has been depicted in the poem with a modicum of tenacity. Besides the homage tendered by Rāma to the sages, preceptors and other venerable personages, it emerges with cogence in the ode to Mother Earth. It is the *rati* of the people of Ayodhya that is expressed in the Mother's *stuti* (XIX. 125-135).

While the treatment of *Rasa* in the RAŚM is beyond reproach, it is occasionally marred by the use of self-expressive words. The word *vīrarasa* is found used in वीरो रसो भृतिभृतां न हि भोग्यवस्तु (XVIII. 39) and द्वेधा विभक्त इव वीररसश्चकासे (XVII. 42). The phenomenon is denounced as *rasadoṣa* by the poeticians.

Depiction of Nature

Contrary to his *Bhāratadigdarśanam* which is lost in wild and sensuous imageries in depicting the natural phenomena, the RAŚM testifies to the author's love for nature in its pure, undiluted charms. Not only has his perception of nature undergone a happy change in the *Rāmāśvamedhīyam*, he tends to view discretion as the better part of flamboyance. Though alive to the traditional styles, he has gone the whole hog in depicting the natural beauties of *prakṛti* in a charmingly lucid phraseology. It is the *ālambana* form of nature that dominates the RAŚM. The lively delineation of *Prakṛti* in its natural form contributes to the vibrance of the poem. In his zeal to unfold the beauties of the phenomena, he occasionally presses into service some of the figures of speech. Far from blurring their genius, they serve to heighten their effect. The pithy sketch of sun-rise in a solitary verse convincingly projects the whole ambience at dawn in tender language[10]. The beauties of *vāṭikā* are also described in a similar vein (VII. 48-50). It is the author's wont to focus on the whole gamut of aspects of the phenomena under description.

The best description of the natural form of *Prakṛti* is, however, reserved for the six traditional seasons. With measured strokes the true character of the seasons has come into relief. Contrary to the early and contemporary poets who tend to lapse into *śleṣa* and *yamaka* and other gimmicks in describing the *ṛtucakra*, Pt. Shastri has been direct and precise in bringing out their beauties. The sweet phraseology and lucid style combine to lend the description an added charm. The different seasons are described with such intimacy and ingenuity that their whole character is unfolded at one go.

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[10] रात्रिर्गता रुविरुदेति विकासभाञ्जि पद्मानि निर्मलजलेषु सरोवरेषु ।
दूर्वाङ्कुरेषु मिहिकाकणिका विभाति मुक्तावलीव गलिता प्रकृतेर्महिष्याः ॥ RAŚM, II. 81

The spring invests everything with freshness. The lotuses bloom in ponds, the trees don the mantle of tender leaves, the creepers are laiden with a wealth of flowers and the cuckoo lets out maddening notes. With longer days, searing wind and scorching sun, the summer makes its presence felt. People struggle to beat it in various ways. The rainy season comes as an antidote to the oppressive summer. The dark clouds, as they envelope the sky, bring cheer to the harried folk.

फुल्लानि कञ्जानि सरोवरेषु वनेषु वृक्षा नवपल्लवाढ्याः ।
उद्यानभूमौ लतिकाः सपुष्पाः सर्वं वसन्ते नवलं विभाति ॥ XV. 7
अहःसु दैर्घ्यं भृशचण्डतार्के प्रतप्ततावर्धत चैव भूमौ ।
नभोविहारं परिहाय भीताः कुलायगर्भे विहगा निलीनाः ॥ XV. 11
खरैः करैर्वर्षति कीलमालं मध्यङ्गते तिग्मरुचौ निदाघे ।
शान्तिं कुरुङ्गा मृगयन्तः आशु च्छायाद्रुमान् शिश्रियुरुच्छ्वसन्तः ॥ XV. 12
आद्यैः पृषद्भिः परिषेचितायाः समुत्थितस्तत्क्षभुवः सुगन्धः ।
अतर्पयत् कर्षकमानसानि मुहुर्मुहुर्घ्राणयुगे प्रविष्टः ॥ XV. 17
शालूरशब्दाकुलपल्वलेषु झिल्लीरवैरध्वसु झङ्कृतेषु ।
कर्णान्तमागत्य मुहुः स्वनद्भिर्न पृष्ठपादैर्मशकैरभावि ॥ XV. 21
घनात्यये निर्मलतामुपेते नभस्तले शारदचन्द्रलेखा ।
उदीयमाना जनहर्षदाभूत् सुरेन्द्रदन्तावलदन्तशोभा ॥ XV. 28
सरोवराणां च तरङ्गिणीनामम्भःसु शैत्यं नितरां प्रवृद्धम् ।
पिपासया पुष्करमर्पितं के दन्तावलो यत् प्रतिसञ्जहार ॥ XV. 34

The author revels in personifying the natural phenomena. To him the nature is not a lifeless entity, but vibrates with a plethora of feelings and responds with alacrity to human weal and woe. The figure of speech Samāsokti has come handy to invest nature with human character. The description of sun-set and the phenomena succeeding it is by far the best piece so far as personification of nature is concerned. The poet is at his best in assigning a variety of functions to the sun, night and moon, who perform them with remarkable skill and finesse.

The evening (*sandhyā*) acts like a devout wife. As her lord, the sun, prepared himself to depart, she, in accordance with the prescribed rituals, donned the auspicious role and duly performed *ārati* to ensure him a happy journey. Being the sovereign of day, the sun had appointed an array of spies around the world to gather intelligence. They returned to him as he was poised to retreat to his harem, and apprised him with all that they had at hand. He is a wise and sensitive person. Stung by remorse that he had oppressed to no end the whole world with not two but thousand hands, he plunges into the ocean to atone for the wrong-doings. And as an ideal king of old, he abdicates his empire and repairs to the jungle in the evening of his life.

शोणाम्बराणि परिधाय कृताङ्गरागा सन्ध्यावधूः प्रियसमागममञ्जुलाशा ।
अस्ताचलं जिगमिषोस्तपनस्य कर्तुं नीराजनानि विधिना समुपास्थिताऽभूत् ॥ VII.1
सम्प्रैषयत् करचरान् भुवनस्य वृत्तं ज्ञातुं सहस्रमुदितः परितो रविर्यान् ।
सर्वं निवेदयितुमेव समीपमेता अस्तावरोधमुपयान्तमिनं करास्ते ॥ VII.2
संतापिताः खरतरैः किरणैः समस्ता लोका वृथेत्यनुशयेन विकम्पमानः ।
अन्तर्दहन्तमनुतापमपासितुं द्राग् मज्जत्यगाधजलधाविव चित्रभानुः ॥ VII.6
यातेंऽशुमालिनि नृपे चरितुं तपस्यां राज्यं विहाय विततं सकलासु दिक्षु ।
जग्रास विश्वमखिलं गतभीः प्रसार्य वक्त्रं करालमलिनं खलु राहुदस्युः ॥ VII.8

The author has mercifully spared the reader of the type of imageries that confront him in the *Bhāratadigdarśanam*. So far as the RAŚM is concerned, he does not have much love for the ornate description of nature. Such of the imageries he has employed in the poem, are wisely toned down. The so-called ornate descriptions are so transparent that the natural beauties of the phenomena peep out through the diaphanous veneer. (VII. 7, 15). The brief ornate description of Yamunā is essentially a description of its natural form. The figures of speech like *Upamā* and *Vyatireka* used therein have been instrumental in lending clarity to the various aspects of the holy river brought under focus (XIII. 16-20).

Characterisation

The RAŚM is sanctified by a series of colossui, each of them being worthy and great in his or her own way. Rāma is doubtless the pivotal figure, who, in the jargon of the poeticians, may be called 'hero' of the poem. It is, however, too trivial an appellation to reflect his greatness. He represents the perfect figure as the 'hero' of the *mahākāvya* should actually be. As drawn in the poem, he is an embodiment of infallibility. He symbolises the ethos, norms and values that have guided and sustained humanity through a series of vicissitudes, and which one dreams to translate in one's life. The devout in the author has purged him of the supposed aberrations that could in any way reflect adversly on him.

Sītā is a perfect counterpart to her great husband. She symbolises the acme of womanhood. A devout wife, a loving mother and an embodiment of chastity, she is sure of herself, her own master. She emerges from the poem as a woman of strong will and indomitable courage. She alone could have inflicted the agony of banishment on herself to save her husband from the public outcry. She carries out the decision with amazing equipoise. The way she trains her sons in Vālmīki's hermitage speaks volumes of her moral strength and vision. And when Rāma and his people demanded too much of her, she vindicates herself in an equally stunning manner.

The much-maligned Kaikeyī is a changed figure. She undergoes untold agony for her decision, which, in her reckoning, was for the weal of Rāma and the world at large. That notwithstanding, she readily makes amends for her harshness.

As drawn in the poem, Sumitrā emerges as a skilful manager of the household affairs. Śrutakīrti impresses as an artist and an antiquarian. Śatrughna has a momentous role to play in the poem. He also represents the voice of dissent, permissible only in a liberal society.

Vālmīki and Vasiṣṭha are venerable sages. They are sure guides and philosophers to their proteges, and are committed to the welfare of the people under all circumstances.

Perhaps the most lovable characters in the peom are Lava and Kuśa, the princes born in the wilderness. They imbibed what was best for them. They are valour incarnate and could frustrate the mightiest on and off the field. Eloquent and logical, they have answer to every verbal barb of the opponents. But beneath the apparent toughness they are humble *baṭus*, ever ready to do their preceptor's bidding. When asked by the sage, they leave for Ayodhya without demur to sing the glory of those whose forces they had humbled on the battle-field, not much before.

Language

The one factor that has been instrumental in raising the RAŚM to the height it justly occupies in the galaxy of the contemporary *Mahākāvyas*, is its language. The language used in the poem is lucid and diaphanous. It is enlivened by the niceities that the Sanskrit language admits in profusion. Besides being suggestive, pregnant and profound, it is distinguished by the potential to muster a plethora of synonyms to accord with the contours of the respective ideas, situations and contexts. There is a definite shift to the lucid in the RAŚM from the flamboyance of the author's earlier writings. As against their rather laboured medium, the language of the RAŚM is marked by natural ease and sweetness. The author has certainly not shed his espousal of the flamboyance and the gimmicks that work it up, but they are considerably subdued in the RAŚM. While the slew of intricate grammatical forms has been deliberately inducted in the earlier works to impart them an aura of pedantry, they are there in the RAŚM to lend serenity to the language. And it is lucidity tempered with serenity that forms the *summum bonum* of the language of the *Rāmāśvamedhīyam*.

Though uniformly lucid, the language, as used in the poem, has the resilience to measure with the spectrum of ideas and situations. It however, has to be admitted that, more often than not, it differs in shade, not substance. It is amply borne out by the fact that the author has zealously shunned pedantic style and sesquipedalion compounds even in describing such harsh contexts as the armed conflicts. The language employed therein is essentially lucid. The utmost that the author does in the situation is that he switches to longer metres and harsh, mostly cerebral, syllables. The lucidity of the language remains unimpaired. At times the author sheds pretensions to longer metres and compounds as well. The encounters are detailed there in the pithy *Anuṣṭup* with the concomitant ease. The phenomenon is well exemplified by the verses that follow :

दम्भोलीनां निपातं प्रलयघनघटागर्जनं भूमिकम्पं
संवर्तोग्रप्रवातप्रवहशकलितक्ष्माध्रकूटप्रघट्टम् ।
ज्याघोषैर्वितन्वन्निव समररसो जानकीज्येष्ठपुत्रो
धैर्यं प्रत्यर्थिचित्तात्त्वरितमपहरन् सम्प्रहारेऽभ्यपातीत् ॥ XVIII. 69
साकेतीयप्रवीरैः शितविशिखगणा मुच्यमानाः प्रयत्ना -
दाकृष्याकृष्य चापं न कुशलवतनुं स्प्रष्टुमीशा बभूवुः ।
हेलाखेलाधिया तौ नृपतिभुजमदं केवलं हर्तुकामा-
वृज्जृम्भाते परेषामसुहरणविधावीक्षमाणावनीतिम् ॥ XVIII. 78

क्रुद्धः कुशदर्पोक्त्या सौमित्रिर्मुनिकुमारकौद्धत्यम् ।
शमयितुकामोऽमुञ्चद् सम्मोहनमाशुगं त्वरितम् ॥ XVIII. 87
तं सञ्ज्ञास्त्रप्रयोगेण हेलयाशमयद्दहसन् ।
सौमित्रे रूढदर्पेण क्रोधेन च समं कुशः ॥ XVIII. 88
दृष्ट्वा तदद्भुतं दृश्यं सौमित्रिर्विस्मयं गतः ।
अहो अस्त्रप्रयोगेषु बलवत्कुशलाविमौ ॥ XVIII. 90

In tune with such combats, the verbal exchanges of the heady warriors are also couched in simple phraseology, though its complex counterpart would have accorded better with the spirit of the encounter. Even when they are detailed in a longer metre, the language retains its inherent ease.

बद्धोऽश्वो ननु मोच्यतां यदि बलं बाह्वोः शरेष्वस्ति ते
किं वा लक्ष्मण मुच्यतां रणधरा सार्धं च दर्पोक्तिभिः ।
नम्रेणाश्वपनीयतां हयशिरोबद्धाऽथवा घोषणा
नो चेद्दर्शय नौ जये व्यवसितं कश्चिन्न पन्थाः परः ॥ XVIII. 84

The phraseology mustered in delineating the tender emotions is notable for its natural case. The intimate exchanges between Rāma and Sītā are voiced in the true *Vaidarbhī* style (VII. 35-37). The author has been chary in using a slightly different language in detailing the *Karuṇarasa*. Pathos has evoked a phraseology that is tinged with dejection and helplessness. The agony of the people of Ayodhya and the royal mothers at the disappearance of Sītā, finds expression in timid terms.

हा सीते प्रियतनये विदेहजाते
लुप्तासि क नु वधु मे क्षणप्रभेव ।
ज्योतिस्त्वं स्थविरदृशोर्विहस्तयोर्मे
कौशल्या करुणरवाऽलुठत् पृथिव्याम् ।। XIX. 119

The poet excels in drawing word-sketches. His sketches are realistic enough to reflect the personality of the object in its entirety. Almost all the sketches in the poem amount to be verbal replicas of the originals. The pithy sketch of Vālmīki is ingeniously drawn (IX. 95-96). The pen-picture of the sacrificial horse is lucid, effective and complete in itself (XVI. 68-74). The best sketch is, however, reserved for the fearsome demon Lavaṇa. His massive and abominable form is tellingly captured in four verses. As he returned from the hunting spree, drenched in blood and giving out stinking stench, he looked like a messenger of death (XIII. 32-35).

Pt. Shastri has been at pains to make the language of poem effective and potent. He has many a device up his sleeve. The plethora of recondite grammatical forms[11] and such of the lexical words as are seldom encountered elsewhere,[12] are intended to impart richness and profundity to the language. The grammatical forms pertain to almost all the sections, but he has special fondness for the Aorist. In his zeal to make the language more vibrant and bring it closer to the reader, the author has given it a considerable sprinkling of vernacular idioms and proverbs. While they lend the Sanskrit speech a *deśī* flavour, and add new contours of thought, their literal translation sounds odd, if not funny. The vernacular idioms, as reproduced in the poem in Sanskrit garb, offend the genius of the language. Idioms like धृता प्रजा मूर्ध्नि (III. 79), कालस्य रामशिरसि न्यपतत्तदानीं....चपेटः (VI. 93), पराजयमुखस्य निरीक्षणाय (XI. 11), यन्मूर्ध्नि कालो हि नरीतृतीति (XVII. 99), कूपमेकसदृशाः (III. 28), दत्त्वाप्यसून् (I. 75), हस्ते हस्तं निधाय (XVII. 82), साकेतराज्यशिरसोऽपनीतं दुर्लक्ष्म (XIX. 140), though interesting in themselves, are unlikely to meet the approbation of the puritans. The proverbs enclothed in Sanskrit also make a similarly quaint reading. Some of them merit notice.

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[11] Some of more interesting grammatical forms are noted here :

(i) Aorist Forms : कर्तरि : निराकृत (III.39), निसचैषुः (X.4), व्याञ्जिषुः (X.7), अन्वमंसत (XII. 35), असविष्ट (XIV. 29-30), व्यज्ञासिषुः (XVII. 79), आश्वीत् (XVIII. 3), न्यमान्तसीत् (XVIII. 49), व्यक्षीष्ट (XIX. 63), समदिक्षताम् (XIX. 163); कर्मणि । भावे : असाहि (V. 43), व्यदारि (X. 61), प्रावेशि (XVII. 8), अताडि (XIX. 95); माङि लुङ् । न माङ् योगे : मा स्म खिदः (VIII. 90), मा रौत्सीः (XVI. 95), मा भैषीः (XVIII. 70), मा गमः (XVIII. 119)

(ii) Frequentatives : अटाट्यमानः (IX.48), दाध्मायमानः (XVII.100), अश्ममूर्तीयमानाः (XVIII.41), झरीयमाणा (XIX.2)

(iii) Denominatives : शोषच्छवीयति (II. 82), ककचायितेव (X.109), परिघायित (XI.5), अविभावरीयत (XII. 43), उर्वरक्ष्मायितौ (XIV. 77)

(iv) Compounds : अधिलङ्कम् (II. 67), फलेग्रहिः (IV. 30), उपाश्म (V. 81), विनम्रमूर्धाः (VI.3), पर्युटजम् (IX. 99), कवोष्ठा (XVII.92)

भ्राष्ट्रमर्जनमुपैतु दुर्जनः कूपपातमुपयान्तु सेविकाः (III. 39), इतो हि कूपः परिखा ततश्च (VIII. 14), हानिर्भवेन्न दण्डस्य म्रियेत च भुजंगमः (XVI. 31), यन्मूर्ध्नि कालो हि नरीनृतीति धावन्ति घोषं प्रति फेरवस्ते । मुमूर्षतां हन्त पिपीलिकानां पक्षोद्गमो भाति न मेऽत्र दोषः (XVIII. 116), हस्ताभ्यामनुशयिता गृहीतकर्णा, रेखानां त्रयमलिखन् स्वनासिकाभिः (XIX. 117)

The RAŚM is interspersed with ideas from the ancient masters. There is hardly any borrowal that has been physically lifted from the earlier texts. More often than not, they have been given a new garb. Far from undermining the language, they lend it an added brilliance. Some of them may be reproduced here alongwith their originals.

Contd..........

(v) *Kṛdantas* : वशंवदः (IV.29, VII. 88), उपेयिवांसः (VI.20), महीध्रेषु, अभ्रंलिहेषु (VII.20), वगाहितु (XII.3), निषेदुर्षी (XII.17), आनन्दथु (XIV.58), ध्यायं ध्यायं, नामं नामं (XVI.122), तस्थिवांसः (XVII.71), संशयालुः (XVIII.101), उपेयुषोः (XIX.72), वर्धिष्णुताम् (VI.22), अलम्भविष्णुना (VIII.64), जयिष्णु (VIII.83)

(vi) *Taddhitāntas* : दाधिकानि (IV.74), जित्वर (XII.40, XVI.120), अध्वनीन (XIII.37), पथीन (XVI.118), सांयुगीनाः (XVI.120), प्रसृमर (XVII.76), मिदुरौ (XVII.81)

[12] Some of the more important words are listed here :
विग्राम् (छिन्ननासिकाम्, II. 60), अभ्यागमे (रणे, III.50), काश्मीरजा (किञ्जल्कः IV.73), सौहित्यं (तृप्तिः, IV.77), धनुः (Masculine, V.75), अङ्गचक्राः (हंसपक्षिणः, VI.47), विच्छन्दकेषु (श्रेष्ठेषु, VII.21), नैकषायान् (राक्षसान्, VII.83), आशरः (राक्षसः, VII.83), नीला (मक्षिका, X.96), निगटनस्य (घूकस्य, XI.56), दाक्षाटयः (गध्रः, XI.57), अनुप्लवाः (सेनानायकादिपृष्ठगाः पदातयः, XII.39), आव्यः (प्रसवपीडाः, XII.54), वीतिम् (अश्वम्, XVI.49), शात्रवः (अरिः, XVI.103), स्वरुः (वज्रम्, XVIII.79), पित्सन्तः (पक्षिणः, XIX.25), उदात्तदोषः (ऊर्ध्वीकृतबाहवः, XIX.93), निर्व्यथनम् (छिद्रम्, XIX.100)

(i) हृत्स्पन्दनं समानं स्यात् समानं चिन्तनं ययोः । I. 35
समानी व आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः । *Ṛgveda* X. 191.4

(ii) प्रभुताधनतारुण्यमदोऽनर्थस्य कारणम् । I. 67
यौवनं धनसम्पत्तिः प्रभुत्वमविवेकिता ।
एकैकमप्यनर्थाय किमु यत्र चतुष्टयम् ॥ *Hitopadeśa*, *Prastāvikā*, 11

(iii) एकान्ततः सुखदशा न चिराय कस्यापि । VI. 93
कस्यात्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा । *Meghadūta*, 106

(iv) ममैष निर्बन्धः समर्थनीयो न निषेधमर्हति । VIII. 3
तदेष सर्गः करुणार्द्रचित्तैर्न मे भवद्भिः प्रतिषेधनीयः । *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV. 42

(V) पूर्वे भवे विहितकर्मफलं ममैव । VIII. 93
ममैव जन्मान्तरपातकानां विपाकविस्फूर्जथुरप्रसह्यः । *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV. 62

(VI) पदे पदे सन्नमयन्तमुर्वीं । XVIII. 2
धीरोद्धता नमयतीव गतिर्धरित्रीम् । *Uttararāmacarita*, VI. 19

(VII) मा भून्मे लवणजितो नवावतारो गर्हायाः । XVIII. 62
मा भूत्परीवादनवावतारः । *Raghuvaṁśa*, V. 24

(VIII) अर्यमा कुलदेवता शं वस्तपेन्मारुतः । XIX.149
शन्नो वातः पवतां शं नस्तपतु सूर्यः । *Yajurveda*, 36.10

The language of the RAŚM reflects the author's equipment in various *śāstras*. As a traditional Paṇḍita he has brought to bear on the poem his knowledge of *Vedānta*, *Mīmāṁsā*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Karmakāṇḍa*, *Āyurveda*, *Arthaśāstra*, Poetics and of course grammar, which seems to be his *forte*. In view of his sound equipment in grammar, it is odd to find in the poem quite a few expressions which do not conform to the usage or offend the grammar outright. गिरिजांके उपारुरुक्षया (V. 59), सा तेन राज्ञा, स तया च राज्ञ्या (अनुरक्तः, VI. 19), पूर्वो वियोगः संयोगे कालेन परिणतोऽभवत् (IX. 56), एतादृशी धन्यतरा न काचित् समा वधूः स्याज्जनकात्मजायाः (X. 22), स्निह्यति पुत्रीमिव मैथिलीम् (X. 105), रथेऽधिरूढा श्रुतकीर्तिः (XII. 37), रणाभियानेन सदैव वञ्चिताः (XII. 49), स्वकार्यसिद्ध्यै प्रसितस्य (XII. 72), उदन्तमेतत् सबलं (XII. 77), ध्वनिः श्रूयते ह्लादिनी (XIV. 41), प्रयासैः कदध्वगैस्तं विरमय्य (XV. 111), अमृतनिझरिष्वगाढ (XIX. 80) do not make good Sanskrit.

However, such aberrations do not impinge upon the worth and grace of the language. The language in the RAŚM varies not from lucidity to complexity, but from lucidity to lesser lucidity.

Figures of Speech

Though viewed as its outer trappings, the figures of speech are so close to the genius of Sanskrit poetry that it is hard to dismiss them as *asthira dharma.* It is, however, their judicious application that is favoured by sober critics. When so applied, the *alaṁkāras* contribute to the clarity and quicker understanding of the expression. It is in this spirit that they have been employed in the RAŚM.

Simile emerges as the most favourite *alaṁkāra* of the author. The poem is infested with a slew of brilliant similes. They are distinguished by appropriate *upamānas* drawn, besides others, from as diverse sources as astronomy and poetics. Some of the similes are very touching. Unable to stand the agony caused by Sītā's banishment, Śrutakīrti, an embodiment of art, was thrown out of gear, as a lute falls silent at the loss of its strings (X.103). The *upamānas* drawn from the Science of poetics make the most winsome similes in the poem.[13] Those based on *Śleṣa* are equally happy[14]. Some of the similes are, however, marred by discordant standards of comparison (XIII. 51, XVII. 105).

Anuprāsa has also been used with a measure of fondness. It is interwoven with other figures of speech as well. Besides stray expressions, a series of verses are enlivened by Alliteration (V. 68, XVII. 15, 63), *Yamaka* (XVIII. 6), *Śleṣa* (VI. 9), *Punaruktavadābhāsa* (XII. II) are the other *Śabdālaṁkāras* that have been pressed into service with useful results.

XVII. 38 forms an excellent illustration of *Arthāntaranyāsa.* Here not one, but three specific formulations are sought to be upheld by a general statement. *Dṛṣṭānta* is convincingly exemplified by V. 51. It is characterised by *bimba-pratibimba-bhāva* between the poor vying with Kubera and an old man reverting to the joys of youth[15]. VII.18 forms an example of *Samāsokti.* The way the moon conducts in the verse unmistakably implies an impatient lover striving for the vicinity of his beloved.

> कान्तासमागमसुखाकुलितान्तरङ्गो मन्दं स्फुरद्भिरमृतांशुकरैः सकम्पः ।
> उद्यन् सुधांशुरमरेन्द्रदिगङ्गनाया ध्वान्तावगुण्ठनपटं शनकैर्जहार ॥ VII.18

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[13] नादृत्य दुर्गमगतीनसमप्रदेशान्
नीलाश्चलाध्वसु चलन् शुशुभे मखाश्वः ।
गौड्याः समस्तपदजानपहाय बन्धान्
वैदर्भ्ययेषु विहरन्निव सत्कवीन्द्रः ॥ RAŚM, XVII. 18

[14] कालेऽनुकूलफलदे रसनिर्झरेण सिक्तान्तरा नवनवप्रसवाभिरामा ।
किं प्रेक्षकेक्षणयुगे न तनोति हर्षं धन्वप्रदेशधरणीरमणीव हृद्या ॥ RAŚM, XI.4

[15] धनदप्रतिस्पर्धितामियाद् द्रविणौघैरधनोऽपि कर्हिचित् ।
जरसा विकलोऽपि सम्भवेत् नवतारुण्यविलासभाक् पुनः ॥ RAŚM, V.51

Besides these major *alaṁkāras*, *Svabhāvokti*, *Vyatireka*, *Apahnuti*, *Yathāsaṁkhya*, *Sahokti*, *Vibhāvanā*, *Virodhābhāsa*, *Parisaṁkhyā*, *Paryāya*, *Parikara* are some of the other figures of speech that contribute to strengthen the expression in the RAŚM.

Metres

Metre is closer to the genius of Sanskrit poetry but for which it would degenerate into insipid prose. The use of metre in the RAŚM adheres to the tradition. Each canto is dominated by one metre which changes toward the end. The multiety of metres (14) in Canto Eighteen is also sanctioned by the theory. *Upajāti* is the pet metre of the author. It has been employed as the main metre in as many as five Cantos (IV, VI, X, XIII, XV). It is followed by *Vasantatilakā* which has claimed four Cantos (II, VII, XI, XVII). In all twenty metres have been used in the RAŚM which are as follows : *Anuṣṭup*, *Upajāti*, *Hariṇī*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Mālinī*, *Rathoddhatā*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *Viyoginī*, *Vaṁśastha*, *Śikhariṇī*, *Sragviṇī*, *Śālinī*, *Pṛthvī*, *Drutavilambita*, *Praharṣiṇī*, *Sragdharā*, *Puṣpitāgrā*, *Mañjubhāṣiṇī*, *Āryā*, and a new metre (*ra*, *sa*, *ya*, *ra*) uttered by the fire god in XIX. 148-152.

While it may be extravagant to rate the *Rāmāśvamedhīyam* as the best poem of the current era, it, on account of its manifold virtues analysed above, has doubtless done the modern Sanskrit writing proud. It is sure to stand the test of time.

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शोधपत्रिका, इंस्टिट्यूट ऑफ राजस्थान स्टडीज, जनार्दनराय नागर राजस्थान विद्यापीठ विश्वविद्यालय, उदयपुर-३१३००१.

वर्षः ५६, अङ्क : १-४, जनवरी-दिसम्बर २००५

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संगीत, संगीत-कला का प्रतिनिधि मासिक, संगीत कार्यालय, हाथरस - २०४ १०१ (उ.प्र.).

वर्षः ७३, अङ्क : ३, मार्च २००७

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नागर विधि : तन्त्र, मन्त्र और संगीत

सागरिका, संस्कृते त्रैमासिकी शोधपत्रिका, सागरिकासमिति, संस्कृत विभाग, डॉ. हरीसिंह गौर विश्वविद्यालय, सागर.

वर्षः ३९, अङ्क : १, विक्रमसंवत् २०६३

त्रिपाठी कृष्णचन्द्र : वैदिकसाहित्येऽग्निः

उपाध्याय पूर्णचन्द्र : संस्कृतवाङ्मये मानवाधिकारस्य भावना

देव मिताली : दर्शनशास्त्रेषु मायाविमर्शः

द्विवेदी मीरा : संस्कृतकाव्यशास्त्रपरम्परायां मन्दारमरन्दचम्प्वाः स्थानम्

मोलिया मनसुख के.: मार्कण्डेयपुराणे एकपत्नीत्वस्य प्रतिष्ठापनम्

सारस्वतीसुषमा, सम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयानुसन्धानपत्रिका, त्रैमासिकी, वाराणसी-२२१००२.

वर्षः ५८, अङ्क : १-२, जून-सितम्बर २००३ ई

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पाण्डेयः महेन्द्र : श्रौतस्मार्तयज्ञेषु विज्ञानम्

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मिश्रः बाँकेलाल : पाणिनिव्याकरणे सूत्रसमीक्षा
शुक्लः भगवतशरण : द्विकर्मकधातुसमीक्षा
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पाण्डेयः विजयकुमार : औपम्यविवेकः

સ્વાધ્યાય, સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય, વડોદરા.

પુસ્તક ૪૦, અંક ૧-૪, વિ.સં. ૨૦૫૯

જોષી પ્રજ્ઞા જોગેશ : વૈદિક વાઙ્મયમાં મન્ત્રશક્તિ અને અભિચાર
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સાવલિયા આર. ટી. : ઈ.સ. ૧૨૯૭ થી ૧૮૦૩ દરમ્યાન ગુજરાતનું નૌકાબળ
ત્રિવેદી પ્રતાપરાય ગો. : સંસ્કૃતમાંથી અંગ્રેજી.........

JOURNAL OF THE M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA

The Journal is published every year in three parts.
These parts are devoted respectively to
topics relating to

(i) *Humanities,*
(ii) *Social Sciences and*
(iii) *Science*

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THE EDITOR
Journal of the M.S. University of Baroda
(Humanities/Social Sciences/Science)
Faculty of Arts Compound,
Vadodara - 390 002 (India)

REVIEWS

***Bhoga-Kārikā of Sadyojyoti - with the commentary of Aghora Śiva,* edited by W.A.Borody, Published by Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Ltd., Delhi, First Edition, 2005, pp. ix-xii, 1-174, Price : Rs. 395/-.**

The *Bhoga-Kārikā* is a collection of 146 *Kārīkās* by Sadyojyoti (8th century A.D.) and its commantator Aghora Śiva flourished in 12th century A.D. This is the only commentary known so far. The *Bhoga-Kārikā* is of seminal importance for an understanding of the history of Śaivite theological theory (*ibid.*, preface, p.x). The present work (with an introduction and English translation) is an outcome of the work done by the learned author under the guidance of the Late Dr. S.S. Janaki of the Kuppuswami Research Institute, Chennai, when the author was a resident research-fellow for one year and this fellowship was funded by the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute.

The contents of the book may be briefly stated as follows :

1. Introduction (pp.1-19).
2. Translation of the *Bhoga-Kārikā* and the commentary in English (pp. 23-107).
3. Appendix : It contains the transliterated text of the *Bhoga-Kārikā* by Sadyojyoti and the commentary by Aghora Śiva (pp. 111-157).
4. This is followed by two useful appendices : (i) "Bibliographical References I" and (ii) "Bibliographical References II" (pp. 159-171). There after, is an Index (pp. 173-174).

In the Introduction (pp. 1-19) the author discusses the following important topics:

(1) author, (2) *Bhoga-Karīkā* and the *Raurava-Āgama,* (3) the doctrinal relationship between the *Bhoga-Kārikā* and the *Raurava-Āgama* (4) Aghora-Śiva, the commentator of the *Bhota-Kārikā* (5) The manner in which "Mundane Experience" i.e. "*Bhoga*" is introduced in the *Bhoga-Kārika.* The Introduction closes with the information "End-Notes".

The English translation is readable and it is interspersed with explanatory/clarificatory notes wherever necessary. One feels that these "Notes" could have been given in a different type for the easy demarcation of both for the reader, as they are given in the course of "translation". The "translation" is followed by the useful "End-Notes", which could have been given as "Foot-Notes" for a comfortable reading.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 56, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 2006 - June 2007 Issue, pp. 217-220.

The author has based his "(this)" translation and transliteration on the edited text by Krishna Shastri (1923- edition) and on the suggested emendations by Vraja Vallabha Dvivedi (1988 edition) (vide p.101, fn.1). One misses in this context, the author's comment on the two edited texts and the choice of the lections. One wishes that the author could have prepared a critical edition of the *Kārikā* and the commentary.

The book is neatly printed and the author deserves our praise for his learned contribuiton to the Āgamic studies of the Śaiva Philosophy and the publisher for a nice getup. We look forward for many more learned publications in the field of Āgamic studies from the learned pen of the author in the years to come.

Vadodara S.G. Kantawala

***Beyond Orientalism, The Work of Wilhelm Halbfass and its Impact on Indian and Cross-Cultural Studies,* edited by Eli Franco, Karin Preisendanz : Pub. by Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, pp. i-xxxvi + 1-673, Price Rs. 895/-.**

The Volume under review is a collection of papers from twentythree Indologists written in response to the Editors' invitation requesting them to contribute their comments on excellent, scholarly works of Wilhelm Halbfass, concerning mainly on Edward Said's book entitled "Orientalism" and related topics. Its contents are grouped in five headings: 1. Cross-cultural Encounter and Dialogue, 2. Issues of Comparative Philosophy, 3. Topics in Classical Indian Philosophy, 4. Developments and Attitudes in Neo-Hinduism, and 5. Indian Religion, Past and Present. Halbfass has written responses to his respondents for all the above-mentioned five groups, however, combining the fourth and the fifth groups together.

Edward Said in his book *"Orientalism"* maintained that western study of the orient, specifically the Islamic World, constitutes a pervasive attempt to deprive it of its identity and sovereignty, and that the academic pursuit of Oriental and Asian studies in European and American Universities continues to be an extension of a politico-economic will to power and domination. It was collusion of scholarship with the imperatives of colonial domination and a part of the grand design for "Europeanisation of the earth". Said even claimed that the west's discourse on Orientalism presents itself as a form of knowledge that is superior to the knowledge that the orientals have of themselves.

These are some historical facts. But the same doubtful motives can not be held true in the case of many neutral and genuinely interested Western philosophers and scholars like Schopenhauer, Paul Deussen and Halbfass who have built a strong bridge of understanding between the East and West, benefiting both the traditions. Halbfass's extensive work has provided the necessary impetus to this process that holds the prospect of growth of the spirit of fellowship in the field of historical, philosophical, cultural, religious, philological and economic pursuits.

There are thus two distinct sections : Pre-colonial distorted orientalism and Post-colonial Neo-orietalism, the latter may well be the title of the book.

This is evident from the heart-warming critical responses of twenty three Indologists from seven countries which constitute the content of the present volume. The largest number of papers touch upon topics dealt with in "India and Europe". Second group of papers deals with issues presented in "Tradition and Reflections". Third group deals with subjects expounded in "On Being and What There Is". One contributor offers significant observations on the concept of *Karma*.

The value of the book is enhanced by the learned Editorial Essay and Halbfass's publications and references. The book is an important addition to the existing literature on the subject.

Vadodara R.T. Vyas

Face to Face With Shri Ramana Maharshi : **Enchating and Uplifting Reminiscences of 160 Persons, Compiled and edited by Prof. Laxmi Nardain, Pub. by Shri Ramana Kendram, Hyderabad, 2005, pp. i-xviii + 1-401, Price : Rs.200/-**

Bhagavan Shri Ramana Maharshi (1879-1950) is a living master whose presence and power are felt vividly even today by thousands who surrender themselves to him mentally wherever they may be. The book under review presents the experiences of those few fortunate persons who saw him, talked and walked with him during his lifetime, when in silence he revealed his true identity as the self of all beings, the inner controller, the all-merciful God, walking on the earth in human form. To a seeker he said : "Aruṇācala Ramaṇa is the supreme self, the pure consciousness that shines in the space of Heart of all, beginning with Viṣṇu".

The brief life-sketch at the outset of the book reveals that the Maharshi attained such a high state by an encounter with death, when he, with full awareness, saw his body as inert, silent corpse and himself to be pure, eternal consciousness ever untouched by death. This occurred when he was sixteen and half years old. Thereafter, he never identified himself with the body. His instructions, therefore, proceed from his personal, direct experience and not from any scriptural authority. This is clear from his talk with Paul

Brunton :

B. But this path is difficult and I am conscious of my weaknesses.

M. That is the sure way to handicap oneself, this burdening of one's mind with the fear of failure and the thought of one's weaknesses.

B. Yet if it be true ?

M. It is not true. The greatest error of man is to think that he is weak and evil by nature.

Every man is divine and strong in his real nature. What are weak and evil are his habits, his desires and thoughts, not himself.

Brunton could not refute this as the sage was speaking from his direct, personal experience. Describing the influence of Maharshi's silence, Brunton states : "I become aware of a silent change taking place in my mind. One by one all questions I prepared, drop away. I know only that a steady river of quietness is flowing near me, a great peace is penetrating in my being and my thought-tortured brain arrives at some rest''. It will be seen on reading this book that all who came in contact with him had this experience of peace, sure sign of a Master or a Sadguru. His main teaching is that the Real or Self is ever-present like the cinema-screen on which shadow pictures move. All thoughts and events during the three states of waking, dream and deep sleep are merely false pictures moving on the unaffected screen of pure consciousness, which alone is real. You are That. But man is so accustomed with objectivity that he has lost the knowledge of himself, because the Self cannot be objectified. We are the Self, yet we ask how to know the Self. Seeking with introverted mind the source of I-thought, to which all other thoughts are integrated, is the one direct way to realise the unconditioned, absolute Being that one really is. The greatness of the Maharshi is that, being the inmost self, he draws true seekers to himself. As such he draws ripe souls from all over the world, following any religion or sect.

All accounts are preceded by a brief introduction of the contributors.

At the end of the book five annexures, glossary, references of the sources, highlights of 160 contributors, alphabetical list of contributors, accolades showered on Shri Ramana and Index are appended which enhance its value and utility. It is an important addition to the existing literature on Bhagavan Shri Ramana Maharshi, a must for true seekers all over the world.

Vadodara

R. T. Vyas

OBITUARY

Shri Jayant Premshankar Thaker

SHRI JAYANT THAKER
(1922-2007)

Shri Jayant Premshankar Thaker, Ex-Director, Oriental Institute, left this mortal world on 30th August 2007, at the advanced age of 85. Born on 20th April 1922, Shri Thakersaheb had his Matriculation from L.S. High School, Siddhapur, in Gujarat State. He obtained B.A. degree, with entire Sanskrit from the Elphinstone College, Bombay in 1945 and M.A. with Sanskrit and Gujarati Subjects from the Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay in 1947. It is noteworthy that he also obtained the degree of Hindi Kovida from the Rastrabhasha Prachara Samiti, Vardha in 1949. In view of his bright academic career, he was awarded Gold Medal by the All India Audichya Brahma Samaja, Dr. Ghate Prize and several Scholarships.

He started his professional career as a Teacher at M.R.S. High School, Unjha, in 1947 and later on also served as a teacher at N.S. Vidyalaya, Visnagar in 1948-51. He started his career in the M.S. University as a Tutor in Sanskrit in Department of Sanskrit, Faculty of Arts, in 1951, but later on, he joined the Oriental Institute as Rāmāyaṇa Assistant, when the Project of the Critical Edition of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* was started. His was the first appointment in the Project. From this, he gradually rose to higher positions in the Institute and adorned several prestigious positions with designations like - Superintendent, Printed Section (1953-1958), Research Officer (1958-75), Deputy Director (1975-1981) and Director (December 1981-30th April 1982) for the last five months of his service. He was a recognised Post-graduate Teacher in Sanskrit since 1952 and in Prakrit from 1962, right from the inception of the said subject in the Department. He also taught the said subject till his retirement. He was Senate member for more than twelve long years, representing the Teachers of the Oriental Institute. As a social worker, he adorned the position of the Vice-president of Sattar Taluka Audichya Brahma Samaja, Vadodara and Senior Citizens' Association, J.P. Road, Vadodara.

Shri Thakersaheb was an ardent Researcher and was one of those rarest scholars, who are conversant with and expert in the entire procedure of the preparation of the Critical Editions. For verification and search of Manuscripts of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, he visited Nepal along with Prof. G.H. Bhatt, the then General Editor of the project and collected the oldest Manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Nevārī script, written on palm leaves.

He also went to Hoshiarpur in search of *Rāmāyaṇa* Manuscripts and sorted out more than 284 Manuscripts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of North-Western version and found that there were some Manuscripts of *Rāmāyaṇa* of all *Kāṇḍas,* written in one hand.

He has contributed immensely to Sanskrit and Prakrit/Jain literature through his lectures/talks (frequently on the Radio also), books (more than 13), research papers (more than 100 in Gujarati, English, Hindi, Sanskrit) and Reviews on books (more than 35). The names of some of his books may be noted here.

I English :

1. *Jīvavicāraprakaraṇa of Śāntisūri,* edited with Original Prakrit Text, Sanskrit *Chāyā,* English Translation, pub. Shri Jain Siddhanta Society, Ahmedabad, 1950
2. *Laghuprabhandhasaṅgraha,* critically edited with a critical study, pub. under the M.S. University Research Series no.13, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1970
3. *Viśvāmitrīmāhatmya,* critically edited with a critical study, pub. under the Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 176, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1997
4. *Manuscriptology and Text Criticism,* Oriental Institute, Baroda, 2003
5. *Self Realization and What after Death :* Part I : English Translation of the Gujarati book of Mumukshu, pub. by the author, Ahmedabad, 1990
6. *Sthavirāvalī,* Biographical sketches of the Jain monks of Tapagaccha (in collaboration), pub. Shri Jain Siddhanta Society, Ahmedabad, 1951
7. *Lexicographical Studies in Jain Sanskrit,* (in collaboration), pub. under the M.S. University Oriental Series no.5, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1962
8. *Mañjulavimarśa,* Collection of his 28 research papers in Gujarati, pub. under the Sayājī Sāhityamālā no.369, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1992
9. *Ṣaḍdarśana,* Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, pub. Sardar Patel University, Vallabhavidyanagar, 2001
10. *Avabodhakaṇḍikāsaṅgraha,* Compilation for comprehension (In Collaboration), pub. Modern Book co., Visnagar, 1951
11. *Pāli Gadyapadyasaṅgraha,* for St. XII, in two parts (collaboration), pub. Gujarat Rajya Pathyapustaka Mandala, Ahmedabad, 1977
12. *Bhagavān Śrīkṛṣṇa,* ed. (in collaboration), pub. Bharatiya Jnanapracarini Sabha Trust, Vadodara, 1983

13. *Pravāhadīpa* (Gujarati Annual Magazine), ed. (in collaboration), pub. by Granthagoṣṭhi, Vadodara.
14. *Hastapratavijñāna,* Gujarat Vishvakosha Mandala, Ahmedabad, 2007
15. *Pūravaṇī,* Gujarat Vishvakosha Mandala, Ahmedabad, 2007

Besides these, he has also contributed Sections on-

1. Literary Data from Jain Literature, Literary Data from Non-Jain Literature, A brief history of the *Gacchas* of the Jain Church, A note on the Library Movement in Medieval Gujarat to the *Cultural Chronology of Gujarat* Vol. 2.
2. Jain Sāhityamāthī Anuśrutika vṛttānto- to book *Gujarātano Rājakīya ane Sāṁskṛtika Itihāsa,* Vol. IV : Solanki Period, pub. by B. J. Institute of Research and Learning, Ahmedabad, 1975
3. Ārthika Sthiti, Hindu Dharma, Jain Dharma, in book Gujarātano Rājakīya ane Sāṁskṛtika Itihāsa, Vol. V : Sultanata Period, Pub. by B.J. Institute of Research and Learning, Ahmedabad, 1976.
4. Jain Sahitya and Bauddha Sahitya, in book *Sāhitya Darśana* Vol. IV, pub. the Jnanagangotri Series, Sardar Patel University, Vallabhavidyanagar, 1975

Some of his research papers like on the Peacock, the National Bird, are so exhaustive and scholarly that those not only reflect upon profundity of his knowledge but are real Models for future researchers. These books and articles have received worldwide admiration and made him famous as a scholar in Indology and Jain Literature. He wrote/edited books for different publication series and also contributed research oriented articles in both of our Journals. He wrote scholarly and exhaustive reviews of books, entrusted to him for the said purposes. He always wore simple white khadi dress. He was a thorough gentle man, an able administrator, great researcher with affectionate attitude, resolute and firm in his decisions. He was not only well-versed in Sanskrit but also in Prakrit and Jain Literature. In view of his outstanding and distinctive contribution to Sanskrit, he was presented the prestigious "Gopal Krisha Trust Award" in 1988 at Ahmedabad. With the demise of such a towering personality and veteran scholar, the Sanskrit and Prakrit World has suffered an irretrievable loss.

M.L. Wadekar

Oriental Institute,
The M.S. University of Baroda,
Vadodara.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. ***Eternal Values and Modern Society*** **:** by Mahadev N. Joshi, Pubd. by Roopa Publications, Plot No.33, Mahalasakanta, R.C. Nagar, Dharwad - 500 001, Ist ed. 2006, pp. x+272, Price : Rs.200=00

2. ***Sources and Systems of Law and Administration in Ancient India*** **:** by Mahadev N. Joshi, Pubd. by Bhalachandra N. Joshi, Bhalachandra Prakashana, Vartak Galli, Jamkhadi - 587 301, Ist ed. 2006, pp. viii+126, Price : Rs. 100=00

3. ***Rivers in Hindu Mythology and Ritual*** **:** by S.K. Lal, Pubd. by Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 3421-A, IInd floor, Narang Nagar, Delhi-110 035, Ist ed. 2007, pp. xxx+188, Price : Rs. 400=00

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Publications of M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, 41, U.A. Bunglow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110 007

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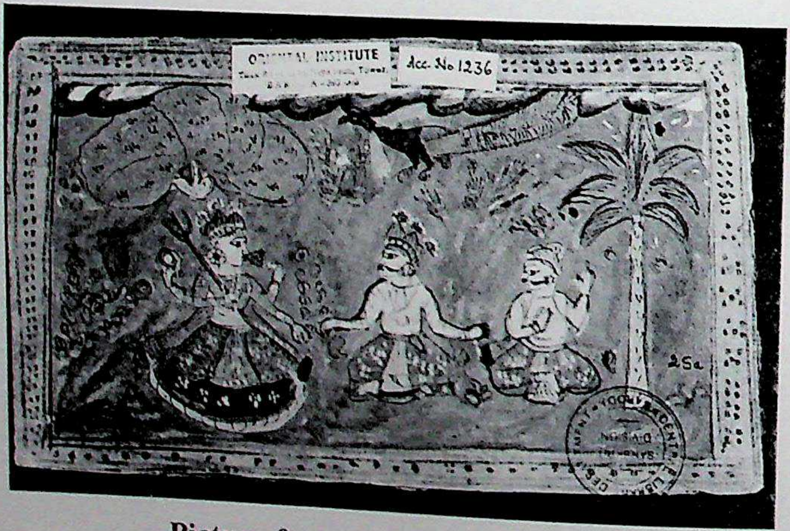

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(Oriental Institute, Acc.No. 1236)

Edited and Published by **Prof. Dr. Mukund Lalji Wadekar,** *Offg. Director,* Oriental Institute, on behalf of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara - 390 001, (India).
Printed by **Shri P.N. Srivastava,** *Manager,* The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara - 390 001.
Issued - April, 2008